Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-168
Tuesday
30 August 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-168 *30 August 1988*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Varkonyi Addresses Disarmament Delegations *[MTI]* 1
CSSR Delegate Offers Proposal in Geneva *[CTK]* 1
Spokesman on Compromise Proposal *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Aug]* 1

ALBANIA

Soviet 'Act of Aggression' in CSSR in '68 Noted *[BASHKIMI 21 Aug]* 3
Leaders' Public Appearances 14-20 Aug 88 3

BULGARIA

Gorbachev Collected Speeches Published 4
More on Visit of Swiss CP Leader Spielman 4
Military Commissioning Held in Stara Zagora 4
Proceedings Summarized 4
Dzhurov Speaks at Ceremony *[NARODNA ARMIYA 28 Aug]* 5
Politburo Greets Dragoycheva on 90th Birthday *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 Aug]* 6
New Communications System Reviewed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 12 Aug]* 6
Plans for Improving Radio, TV Networks Discussed *[POGLED No 34]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Aid Promised to UK in Tracking Semtex *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 9
Light Plane Hijacked From Slovakia to Austria 9
Foreign Minister Chnoupek Meets FRG Leaders 9
Chnoupek Meets Kohl 9
Chnoupek Meets Genscher 9
Chnoupek Addresses Banquet 10
Genscher Addresses Banquet 11
FRG Reportage on Visit *[cross-reference]* 11
Strougal Receives Brazilian State Governor 11
Slusovice's Direct Links With USSR Enterprises *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 18 Aug]* 11
Soviet Envoy Addresses Friendship Conference 12
PRC Youth Delegation Makes Rounds in Prague *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Aug]* 12
Leaders Congratulate Congo on National Day *[Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Aug]* 12
Zambian President Receives CPCZ Delegation 12
Leaders Congratulate Afghanistan on National Day *[RUDE PRAVO 18 Aug]* 13
Lenart Receives MPRP's Damdin in Prague 13
Jakes Addresses Regional Officials 13
Spokesman on Prague Disturbances, Other Issues *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Aug]* 14
Official on 'Democratization' of National Front 15
CPSL Presidium Discusses Economic Plans 16
Zavadil Addresses Regional TU Council 16
Discussion of Nagymaros Project Increases *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Aug]* 16
Leaders' Public Appearances 18-24 Aug 17

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker Addresses Flight Anniversary Meeting *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27-28]* 19
Honecker Greets Cooperative Peasants, Workers *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27-28 Aug]* 20
Felfe Receives Soviet Agricultural Official 20
Felfe Receives Spanish CP Official *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20-21 Aug]* 20

Axen Meets PRC Friendship Delegation 21
SRV Envoy Gives Anniversary Talk 21
PLO Envoy Praises Nation's Solidarity 21
Message Sent to Perez de Cuellar on Disarmament *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18 Aug]* 21
Delegation Ends Visit to Brazzaville *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Aug]* 21
CC Message to State Customs Administration *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27-28 Aug]* 22
CC Message to Socialist Party of Uruguay *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27-28 Aug]* 22
Sindermann Congratulates Fechner on Birthday 22
Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 Aug 22
Leaders' Public Appearances for 18-24 Aug 23

HUNGARY

More on Workers' Protest at Kner Printing Plant 24
Protest Continues 24
Printers Resume Work; New Manager Reconfirmed 24
Pecs Strike Blamed on Company Management *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 Aug]* 24
Politburo Meets 26 Aug on Romanian Invitation 25
Szuros Interviewed on Foreign Policy *[NEPSZABADSAG 20 Aug]* 26
Grosz, Others Meet New Ambassador to Laos 30
Berecz Attends Vienna Dialogue Book Presentation 30

POLAND

Occupation of Gdansk Port Sectors Continues 31
Szczecin Port, Bus Strike Situation Unchanged 31
Port Strike Damaging Business 31
Transit Shipments Affected 31
Losses Exceed Z1.2 Billion 31
Enterprise Appeals to Port Workers 31
Dabie Bus Strike Talks Set for 30 Aug 31
Strike Representative on Situation 32
Stalowa Wola Strike Persists Into 9th Day 32
Parts of Mill Still Affected 32
1,500 in 1st Shift Strike 32
Strike Action 'Growing' 32
Officials Appeals to Workers 33
'July Manifesto' Mine Situation 33
Talks at Jastrzebie Mine Break Up 33
Jastrzebie Talks To Resume 34
Jastrzebie Mine Talks Postponed 34
Coalmine Strike Scene Update 34
Further TRYBUNA LUDU Coverage on Mine Strikes 34
Prosecutors Issue Summonses *[25 Aug]* 34
Violence Against Strikers Denied *[25 Aug]* 34
Situation in 'July Manifesto' Mine *[25 Aug]* 35
Bialystok Factory on 'Strike Alert' 36
'Abridged' Resolution on Reform Issues 36
Urban, Walesa Address Issue of Roundtable Meet 38
'Many People' To Attend 38
Walesa Reiterates Readiness *[Hamburg DPA]* 38
Officials Comment of Strike Situation 38
Colonel on Defense Industry Strikes 38
Labor Minister's Statement 38
Rakowski Briefs Socialist Press on Plenary 38
Notes 'Revolutionary Significance' 39
Role Seen for 'Constructive Opposition' 40
Council of Ministers Considers Economic Planning 40
Sejm Session Planned for 1 Sep 41
Wages for First Half of'88 Exceed Plan 41
Transport Union Sets New Deadline for Government 42

Pope Criticizes Communist Rule in Poland *[Rome ANSA]* 42
Krakow Cardinal, Sejm Official Meet 42
OPZZ Views Price-Income Situation 42
Szczecin Strike Affects Duty Free Zone 43
Szczecin Port Strike Causes Rail Losses 43
Citizens Polled on Chances for Dialogue 43
Further Media Commentary on Worker Unrest Crisis 44
Claims of Force Against Strikers Rejected *["r" in TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Aug]* 44
Calls For Aid for Strikers Dismissed *[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Aug]* 44
Michnik's RFE Interview Questioned *[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Aug]* 44
Foreign Media Strike Coverage *[TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Aug]* 45
Foreign Correspondents Quoted *[TRYBUNA LUDU 24 Aug]* 45
Reform Against Criticism Defended *[Swidzinski in TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Aug]* 45
Panel Discusses Solidarity, Martial Law *[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 21 Aug]* 46
POLITYKA Editors View Polish Stalinism *[20 Aug]* 47
Need for Continued Renewal Examined *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 23 Aug]* 52
TRYBUNA LUDU Quotes Views on Sanctions *[23 Aug]* 53
Envoy Discusses State of Current U.S. Relations 55

ROMANIA

Ceausescu, Grosz Make Statements on Talks 57
Ceausescu Meets Arad County RCP Members 60
SCINTEIA Marks Afghanistan's Independence 60
Ceausescu Receives Guinean Envoy's Credentials 60

YUGOSLAVIA

Over 500 Albanian Students Demonstrate 62
Police Disperse Demonstrators 62
'Pure' Albanian Classes in Kumanovo Demanded 62
Serbs, Montenegrins Protest in Pristina 63
Albania Conducts 'Dual-Track Policy' 63
'International Excesses' in Pristina Condemned 64
Zubin Potok Basic LC's Discuss Grievances 64
Slovenes Discuss Kosovo Meeting Proposal 65
Slovene Daily Comments on Kosovo Visit *[Slamberger in DELO 24 Aug]* 65
Workers Strike for Surplus Funds in Krusevac 66
Velika Kladusa Miners Return to Work 66
Korosec Speaks to Split Shipbuilders 66
Alliance May Call Leaders 'To Account' 66
Draft Amendments to SFRY Constitution 67
Part Four *[VJESNIK 12 Aug]* 67
Part Five *[VJESNIK 15 Aug]* 68
Komatina Interviewed on SS-20 Destruction 70
Loncar Messages Greek Counterpart on Lake Issue 70
Greeks Stop Drawing Water 70
Presidency Discusses Upcoming Nonaligned Meeting 71

Varkonyi Addresses Disarmament Delegations

LD2908220688 Budapest MTI in English 1948 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—Politicians, high-ranking military leaders and researchers of five Warsaw Treaty and five NATO member states are to start a conference on conventional disarmament in Europe in Budapest on Tuesday [30 Aug].

The organizers, the Hungarian Institute for Foreign Affairs and the New York-based Institute for East-West Security Studies, have invited representatives of Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union as well as Britain, France, the FRG, Italy and the United States to the Hungarian capital.

The two-day conference is to discuss behind closed doors the state, structure and location of armed forces and weaponry in Europe, the ways of eliminating the danger of surprise attacks, and changes in military doctrines.

Monday evening Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi gave a dinner in honour of the participants.

In his welcome address Peter Varkonyi stressed that the senior experts in disarmament were meeting in a period of promising improvements in East-West relations and Soviet-American ties which are to no small extent due to the realization that war is inconceivable and the major global problems can only be settled in cooperation, with respect for one another's interests.

As a major manifestation of the new way of foreign policy thinking, the Warsaw Treaty member states emphasized already in the mid-1980s that conventional disarmament would become a decisive component of arms limitation in Europe. This [words indistinct] by the Budapest appeal in 1986 which was creatively further developed in the Berlin and Warsaw sessions of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

Peter Varkonyi expressed the conviction that the issue of the balance and reduction of conventional forces in Europe cannot be approached solely from military aspects. We need a concept that integrates disarmament, together with the enforcement of economic, political, cultural and human rights, into the system of international relations, he said. By now appropriate frameworks have been created for this process in Europe. The same principles can and should be asserted on global scale.

Peter Varkonyi emphasized that Hungary has profound interest in any kind of disarmament but first of all in the reduction of armed forces and weaponry in Europe. We hold that Hungary, due to its geographical location and political situation, would be an appropriate site for testing disarmament measures that could later be applied on the whole continent. These measures could refer to both the Hungarian People's Army and the foreign forces stationed on our territory. This is dictated not only by broader political considerations but also by our fundamental domestic policy and economic interest, Peter Varkonyi said.

CSSR Delegate Offers Proposal in Geneva

LD2508192388 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva Aug 25 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak delegate to the disarmament conference here Milos Vejvoda today pointed out the [word indistinct] in the whole course of the duration of the conference participants failed to set up a working committee to discuss the issue of a nuclear test ban.

Milos Vejvoda submitted as an official document of the conference a Czechoslovak draft mandate which is of a compromise character and could facilitate the opening of talks as a first step leading to a general nuclear weapons test ban.

In another part of his address, Vejvoda referred to talks and a ban on chemical weapons. He stressed the aim is a total ban on chemical weapons, their complete destruction and ruling out of their production in the future, also in the civilian chemical production. All participating countries in general agree with this idea but reality is [word indistinct], he said and mentioned some proposals presented recently which could lead to the elimination of chemical weapons of some states on the one hand but on the other would allow other countries to continue their production. Some countries which so far do not own chemical weapons could start producing them. This approach runs counter to elementary logic and to the aims of a future convention, Milos Vejvoda said.

Spokesman on Compromise Proposal

AU2908160888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "How To Arrive at an Agreement in Geneva; Spokesman for the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Our Proposal"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference spoke at its session on Thursday [25 August], and submitted a draft mandate which would facilitate opening talks as the first step to the universal ban on tests of nuclear weapons. In this connection RUDE PRAVO asked Dusan Rovensky, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, what the essence of our proposal is and what the response to it has been.

As is known, a complex situation has arisen at the deliberations of the Geneva Disarmament Conference on precisely the issue of the talks on the universal ban of tests of nuclear weapons. Contradictory views exist. Thus it was obvious that the situation requires a solution which would make it possible to act constructively and flexibly. Therefore, our Czechoslovak delegation came forward with a compromise proposal. The essence of it is that we propose setting up a work committee which would discuss the structure and the extent of the future agreement on a universal and total ban of tests of nuclear weapons. In this it would always take into consideration the proposals to date. This would enable progress to be made, and the talks could get out of their present difficult situation.

A number of delegations at the Geneva Disarmament Conference responded positively to our initiative. We have the full support of the socialist countries. Japan, Canada, Senegal, Sweden, and some other countries responded positively too.

Soviet 'Act of Aggression' in CSSR in '68 Noted

AU2408102988 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 Aug 88 p 4

[Genc Kondi article: "A Day That Calls For Vigilance"]

[Text] Twenty years ago today, as 21 August 1968 dawned, more than 500,000 troops of five Warsaw Pact countries carried out an act of aggression of a fascist kind in invading Czechoslovakia. This operation revealed the true face of Soviet social-imperialism, the true purpose of the political and military organization of the Warsaw Pact, and aroused justifiable indignation, not merely among the Czechoslovak people, but throughout the whole of progressive public opinion in the world. Now Moscow's revisionist clique could be seen at work in the international arena, undisguised and bare-fisted. The invasion of Czechoslovakia was to be followed by the invasion of Afghanistan, and the emergence of the militarist and expansionary policies of Soviet social-imperialism into the foreground of world events. This, among other things, was one of the tangible results of American-Soviet "detente" and the behind-the-scenes conspiracies of the two superpowers to share out spheres of influence. This operation, which was the largest military action in Europe since World War II, showed that Moscow considers its allied states as provinces, and that under no circumstances can it permit one of them to pass from Moscow's sphere of influence to that of its Western rivals.

The social-fascist invasion of an independent and sovereign country by the armed forces of a military bloc under the command of the Soviet superpower dispelled illusions from many people's minds concerning the foreign policy of the Soviet state following the revisionists' arrival to power in the Kremlin. The treads of the Soviet tanks rumbling in the streets of Prague and other cities of the country put the final seal on the aggressive course assumed by the Khrushchevites and continued by the Brezhnev team.

August 21, 1968 is a date that calls for vigilance. The coming to power of Gorbachev's team in the Soviet Union has not altered the risk posed by Soviet social-imperialism to the peoples of the world. Only appearances have changed. It is true that the present team has begun to withdraw troops from Afghanistan, but this has nothing to do with peace-loving aims in Moscow, but involves definite demagogic, economic, and pragmatic objectives. Meanwhile, the Soviet divisions have dug in their heels in Czechoslovakia and other Warsaw Pact countries and are not budging. A recent meeting of this organization emphasized that there will be no withdrawal of Soviet troops from any country in which they are stationed.

The noisy slogans of the Gorbachev team, "perestroyka," and "glasnost," closely resemble such slogans as "democratization" and "renewal" launched in January 1968 at the plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee with Dubcek at its head. Even TASS stressed this similarity in a commentary in January this year on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of this plenum. The Moscow of today, just like the Moscow of yesterday, is right beside the "Prague Spring" of Dubcek and company, since they are all nothing other than different varieties of revisionism. What worried Brezhnev and his friends was the possibility of Czechoslovakia moving completely into the Western camp. Today's Kremlin chiefs are also afraid of this. Their slogans have clear limits. They hold good in theory, but in practice Soviet social-imperialism would never permit its provinces to detach themselves from the empire. It is precisely for this reason that, alongside efforts to ignore the 20th anniversary of the aggression against Czechoslovakia, the team currently in power in the Kremlin approves the operation of 21 August 1968. This was obliquely admitted by the spokesman, Gerasimov, at a press conference 2 days ago. Thus the "reconsideration" and "criticism" of the so-called "period of stagnation" (the era of Brezhnev's rule) does not extend so far as to condemn the ugly fascist-type act of aggression of 1968. This shows clearly that, with regard to their most important directions, Soviet social-imperialist and revisionist policies have not essentially changed. Thus, nor has there been any change in the danger they pose to the peace and security of the peoples of Europe. Under these conditions, lowering vigilance when confronted with Moscow's official propaganda offensive would have grave consequences.

Leaders' Public Appearances 14-20 Aug 88

AU2008193988 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 14-20 August reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Korce District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 14 August a rally held in the region of Vithkuq, Korce District, on the 45th anniversary of the First Partisan Brigade. (1800 GMT 14 August)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 18 August Takujiro Hamada, deputy foreign minister of Japan for parliamentary affairs. (1800 GMT 18 August)

Gorbachev Collected Speeches Published

AU2908185788 Sofia BTA in English
1827 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—Under the title "With Leninist Wisdom and Responsibility", the publishing house of the Bulgarian Communist Party Partizdat has brought out a book of reports, speeches and interviews by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The centrepiece of the book is the report at the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU "On the Progress of Fulfillment of the Resolutions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the CPSU and the Tasks for Deepening Perestroyka", the speech and the concluding remarks by the secretary general.

The book also includes Mr Gorbachev's closing speech at the conference at the CC of the CPSU with high-ranking officials of the Central Committee, of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and of the Party Control Committee with the CC of the CPSU in November 1987.

Other items which appear in the book are Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's statement at the February 1988 Plenum of the CC of the CPSU on the revolutionary restructuring and the ideology of renewal, his speech and closing remarks at the meeting at the CC of the CPSU with senior officials of the mass media, the ideological institutions and the cultural unions in January this year, and his speech at the next such meeting in May.

His speech at the Fourth All-Union Kolkhoz Congress, his statements about the piecework system and his speech in Tashkent before senior officials of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic are published under the same cover.

The material in the book covers the period between November 1987 and July 1988. The international section comprises the statement made at the exchange of the instruments of ratification for the treaty between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, his speech at the meeting with members of the international public and his press conference with Soviet and foreign reporters covering the Soviet-American summit in Moscow.

More on Visit of Swiss CP Leader Spielman

AU1708141288 Sofia BTA in English
1341 GMT 17 Aug 88

["Advancement of Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, August 17 (BTA)—Today Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, conferred with Mr. Jean Spielman, secretary general of the Swiss Workers' Party. They discussed the theoretical and practical aspects of restructuring and renewal in Bulgaria and in other socialist countries, as well as some current problems concerning the situation in the world and the international communist and workers' movement in the light of new political thinking and the struggle for peace. An emphasis was laid on the need to intensify the activity of various political forces and mass movements in Europe directed at building a "European home", at disarmament and strengthening of confidence on the continent, at mutually advantageous cooperation and understanding among all the peoples in Europe. Both party officials confirmed the shared desire for a further promotion of relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Swiss Workers' Party.

Military Commissioning Held in Stara Zagora

Proceedings Summarized

AU2708184488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] In Stara Zagora today a commissioning ceremony was held for graduates from the G. Rakovski Military Academy and from higher and secondary military schools in Bulgaria.

The ceremony was attended by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov and Dimitur Stoyanov; Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the National and Social Security Department of the BCP Central Committee; Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers of national defense; military attaches of the socialist countries to Bulgaria; leaders of Khaskovo Oblast and Stara Zagora; public figures, veterans, and guests from Sofia and throughout the country.

An order of the Minister of National Defense was read out on naming the graduates as the "Stara Zagora '88" class, awarding them their first promotions to officer or sergeant, and granting awards to leading and outstanding cadets.

A decision of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol and Khaskovo Oblast People's Council was announced granting awards to outstanding graduates for achievements in Komsomol work.

Comrade Dobri Dzhurov congratulated the young officers and sergeants and offered them his good wishes for soldierly boldness and dedicated service in their careers. He stressed that the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army unreservedly support the course of restructuring, the final goal of which is to turn Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state. "We Bulgarian soldiers are aware of our role and place in the historic transformations of society. It is precisely to us that the

people has entrusted the historical responsibility of providing a sure defense of our socialist homeland and of guaranteeing [word indistinct] for their dedicated labor in implementing the party's plans," said Comrade Dobri Dzhurov.

The ceremony was followed by a festive parade-tattoo.

Dzhurov Speaks at Ceremony

AU3008090088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Aug 88 pp 1, 3

["Speech by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense," at the 27 August Georgi Sava Rakovski Military Academy graduation ceremony in Stara Zagora]

[Excerpts] Comrade officers and graduates of the Georgi Sava Rakovski Military Academy and the Soviet military academies,

Comrade young officers and sergeants, graduates of the military schools,
Comrade generals, admirals, and officers,
Esteemed citizens of Stara Zagora and guests of our celebration,

I am very pleased to fulfill the instruction of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the government, and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, and most cordially greet you, the graduates of the military schools, on your promotion to the ranks of first sergeant and officer. [passage omitted]

Comrades, The "Stara Zagora" graduating class is entering the combat ranks of the Army at a remarkable time. We are implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress, the BCP Central Committee July and November 1987 Plenums, and the BCP National Conference. We are also conducting the revolutionary restructuring of our society.

The most recent BCP Central Committee plenum, devoted to restructuring the intellectual sphere, turned into a powerful stimulus of renewal and released the powerful energy of the great army of education, science, and culture workers, and our entire intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

Comrades,

The favorable development of the processes of restructuring in our country is in harmony with many positive changes in the international situation. Thanks to the active foreign policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, the new political thinking—which the progressive forces throughout the world are connecting with the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and personally with the name of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev—and the efforts of all peace-loving forces, an improvement of the political climate in the world is evident, confidence among nations is strengthened, and the world has advanced toward real measures in the area of disarmament. The talks in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow marked the beginning of important changes in the international situation.

The greatest foreign policy success of the socialist countries—first of all the USSR—which is based on the new political thinking, is the fact that it caused a real decrease in international tension. Confrontation in international life gave way to cooperation and mutual understanding. Prospects for effective talks, especially concerning weapons of mass destruction, are emerging. The first step, as we all know, was the INF Treaty between the USSR and the U.S. This act shows that when there is good will it is possible to successfully solve even the most complicated issues related to disarmament.

The Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the talks on southern Africa, and the Gulf war cease-fire agreement have great political importance. They became an important step in settling regional conflicts, which jeopardize peace throughout the world and hinder the nations' progress.

The decision of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member States, adopted in July 1988 in Warsaw, on further developing and specifying the peaceful and constructive policy of the countries of the socialist community, aimed toward stopping the arms race and advancing toward decisive disarmament, is a new landmark along the road of further decreasing international tension.

A tendency to decrease tension in international relations is evident. However, it would be wrong to live with the illusion that mankind can rest complacently.

The world situation continues to be a complex and contradictory one. There still has not been a fundamental turn for the better. The military threat still exists. The imperialist roots of aggression and war have not disappeared. Reactionary and militarist forces, who oppose the peoples' strivings toward peace and disarmament, are trying to delay and stop this process through political and diplomatic means, and they do not shy away from using the power of weapons as an argument. Therefore, the fires of regional conflicts are still burning in the four corners of our world.

This is what determines the main task of the armed forces of the socialist countries, including the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, namely, to always be at their combat post and to guarantee reliable defense of socialism in strict accordance with our defensive doctrine.

Comrades,

With its initiatives, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is participating most actively in finding and implementing the coordinated course of the fraternal socialist countries, aimed at peaceful coexistence, preventing thermonuclear war, solving mankind's global problems, and asserting equal dialogue and morals in international life.

As always, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is devoting special attention to its relations with the Balkan states. Our fundamental interests aim toward consolidating understanding and peace, good-neighborly relations, and mutual benefit; turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons; decreasing the level of military confrontation; and strengthening peace in the region.

We rejoice at the promising steps in favorably developing relations among the Balkan states, especially after the Belgrade meeting of ministers of foreign affairs. Contacts on a bilateral and multilateral basis have increased and new roads, means, and methods are being sought to strengthen relations in the economic and political areas, to overcome old prejudices, and to give priority to issues which bring people of the region together and do not divide them.

This, comrade graduates, is the internal and international situation in which you are beginning your professional career. [passage omitted]

Politburo Greets Dragoycheva on 90th Birthday
AU1908164888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Aug 88 pp 1,3

["Greetings Message of the BCP Central Committee Politburo to Tsola Nincheva Dragoycheva, Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Hero of Socialist Labor, Floor 3, 10a Boulevard Tolbukhin, Sofia"]

[Text] Please accept, esteemed Comrade Dragoycheva, our most cordial comradely greetings on the happy occasion of your 90th birthday.

Our people know and respect you as a national heroine, devoted party veteran, outstanding builder of socialist Bulgaria, enthusiastic supporter of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and eminent fighter for peace and cooperation between peoples.

The Bulgarian Communists are proud that within the party's ranks you grew up and were tempered as a professional revolutionary, whose life has been linked for over 7 decades with the struggles for the people's liberty and the victory of socialism. From your early years, you have been in the cauldron of the revolution, and passed through the flames of the first antifascist uprising in the world in September 1923, which was guided by the BCP. Even the hardest tests that you experienced during your life—dismissals, arrests, inquisitions, 8 years in prison, internments, and death sentences—did not break your faith in the bright communist future.

In the hard years of the resistance, you, as a Politburo member and organizational secretary of the Central Committee, were one of the organizers and leaders of the armed struggle against monarcho-fascism. By your indomitable work you made a worthy contribution to consolidating the strong national forces within the ranks of the Fatherland Front for the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution.

During the period of creation of the new life, you, as an eminent party, state, and social figure, have been investing with the same inspiration your experience, knowledge, and energy to consolidate the people's power, in order to implement the party's Leninist April general line and achieve the upsurge of our dear native land. Through your dedicated social activity you are making a further contribution to increasing the role of the Bulgarian woman, developing the international democratic women's movement, and consolidating the struggle for peace and social progress.

Your personal contribution to the flowering of the life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and to deepening the cooperation and comprehensive drawing together between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union has been truly great.

We are particularly glad that you are still standing at your post in the present time of radical change.

Your rich life is an example of communist purposefulness and self-denial.

We firmly shake your right hand, dear Comrade Dragoycheva, and offer our sincere wishes that you will celebrate your centenary in good health and lively spirits.

Happy birthday!
18 August 1988
BCP Central Committee Politburo

New Communications System Reviewed
AU1708135688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Aug 88 p 2

[Report: "New Communications Technologies"]

[Text] A unique kind of "blood circulation system" is being created through a synthesis of modern communications equipment with the computer. Without such a system, the problems of today and tomorrow cannot be resolved.

The strategic task is to provide integrated information services for all levels of management. National communications equipment has a special part to play in solving this task, as it has to provide a telecommunications infrastructure for the needs of the information technologies that are being introduced in Bulgaria, that is, to provide a "blood circulation system" for the whole of the country's information services. This can only be achieved through a synthesis of modern communications equipment with the computer. Svilen Ivanchev, director of the "Information and Communications Technologies" Directorate, will tell us more details:

One of the main directions in which the "Communications" Association is working, is to fully master and further develop the "Bulpak" data transmission system which provides for the automated exchange of information between subscribers who possess personal computers, small and large computers, and terminals of different types.

The next priority is the development and introduction of new telemetric services. The "Videoteks" system is to be introduced. Experimental work is continuing on a "Teletext"-type system, which will provide for the transmission of textual information through a television channel. Experimental work is starting on the problems of speech recognition and synthesis (or audiolink).

In 1987 the "Infotel" system ("Videoteks"-type) was developed, and it is now being introduced. It will provide access through a personal computer or a domestic television set to a large computer and enable data from the computer to be used.

The hardware and software for providing links between computers and communications equipment have become very important. Development organizations in Bulgaria are now devoting attention to these means, which until recently were a "no-man's-land," and are working on their development. The "Communications" Association is doing everything possible to stimulate work in this field, through providing finance and creating conditions for the technical testing of different types of adapters, programs, and systems for matching and standardizing the connections. These are of particular importance, since they are an essential precondition for integrating computers with communications systems.

The association is expanding and intensifying its previous work on automating its own operational and technological processes, where we have acquired some positive experience. The task now is to classify and standardize the individual types of systems and subsystems to centralize their development work and allow the systems to be put into production in a number of individual plants. Work is proceeding on the changeover to dialogue-type systems using telecommunications channels and the "Bulpak" data transmission network.

All this is being done with the long-term aim of basing the future information systems of the "Communications" Association on a network of computers using "Bulpak."

What Is "Bulpak"? [subhead]

What work has been completed on introducing this communications system? Engineer Krasimir Ivanov, a chief specialist in the "Communications" Association, gives an answer to this question:

The "Bulpak" data transmission system has entered the final stage of its construction. The first successes can already be seen. Following a period in which the system was operated under load and monitored only using the service terminals, it was possible to conclude that the necessary stability had been achieved. Work on connecting external subscribers began in autumn 1987.

This marked the beginning of the use of the "Bulpak" network for the actual transmission of data in Bulgaria. So far, almost 60 subscribers' stations have been added to the system. For the moment, the main subscribers are the Central Institute for Scientific and Technical Information and its branches throughout the country, as well as other enterprises and organizations. During the last few months we have received increased numbers of applications for connecting departmental information systems to the network.

Interest is also being shown in the possibilities for international exchange of data. Already five Western European countries have expressed a desire for direct or transit connections between "Bulpak" and their own national data transmission systems. The first international channel has been set up for transmitting data between "Bulpak" and the international center for channel matching [sgovor], which provides an opportunity for the direct exchange of data between Bulgarian and Soviet subscribers, as well as for transit access to Western networks and subscribers. In the future, a direct channel is to be set up for connection to the West German network. If they prove feasible and efficient, international channels are also to be set up to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Greece, and other countries.

Of course, not everything is proceeding as quickly and smoothly as we would like, but it is impossible to introduce a completely new type of system without encountering unexpected surprises. Efforts are being made to expand and improve the network facilities, including, for example, providing access to new types of computers and terminals. Work will start on connecting the "Bulpak" and telex networks, so that subscribers will be given new opportunities for setting up more profitable information systems.

Rise in Number of Subscribers [subhead]

One of the network's four data transmission centers is located in Plovdiv. Lyuben Tsarev, chief of the "Bulpak" Department at the Plovdiv Economic Communications Combine, is a man of few words:

During the experimental period, six subscribers from Plovdiv and Stara Zagora were connected. The results obtained have helped to eliminate additional problems that arose in connection with introducing the system. We are about to take delivery of measuring apparatus that will make it easier to locate and eliminate possible faults.

Subscribers' applications, after obtaining the agreement of the "Communications" Association, completing investigations and carrying out the prescribed measurements and adjustments, are being processed within the stipulated deadline, despite a shortage of staff at the center. Interest in the network is steadily growing. Unfortunately, we are still unable to meet the needs of certain customers for 24-hour operation.

Plans for Improving Radio, TV Networks Discussed

AU2308130188 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 34, 22 Aug 88, pp 1, 4

[Interview with Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, by Katya Mitova: "Access to Glasnost"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Today, when glasnost is being made a basic principle of party and state policy, the importance of radio and television as the most powerful mass information media is continuously growing. However, the consistent application of glasnost is impossible so long as one basic problem remains unsolved, namely, coverage of the whole country with high-quality television and radio signals. [passage omitted]

Today we return to these problems in an interview with Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council.

[Mitova] Comrade Dzhagarov, why precisely is the Intellectual Development Commission of the National Assembly concerning itself with such a problem, which in essence concerns ideology and culture as much as it does technology and economics?

[Dzhagarov] The broadcasting, transmission, and reception of television and radio programs is a specific form of intercourse between the program creators and their multimillion strong-public (not restricted to Bulgaria alone!). If we are only interested in the start and the end of the chain, and fail to investigate the effectiveness of the links between them, we run the risk of making our analyses an end in themselves. What is the benefit of a first-class program if it does not reach the viewers and listeners? [passage omitted]

However, it turns out that Bulgarian television and radio programs are not accessible to a considerable percentage of the population. In the central Rhodopes, in northwestern Bulgaria, in border regions, and a number of other places "blank areas" still exist that are much bigger than we think, because poor-quality transmissions practically do not reach the people.

The problem is primarily an intellectual and ideological one of national importance, and must therefore be resolved without delay.

[Mitova] Where, in your opinion, do the main difficulties lie, and how can they be overcome?

[Dzhagarov] The difficulties principally stem from the material-technical base, which has not been set up on the basis of proven criteria and is not the result of a uniform nationwide program. Hitherto the facilities have depended to a large extent on the possibilities and level of activity of the local organs of authority, so they have fallen victim to shortsighted locally oriented interests. To avoid repeating the old mistakes or making them worse, we must radically alter the approach, style, and method of work in this sphere.

The material-technical base that provides the public radio and television transmissions requires radical restructuring to update it in accordance with world achievements and trends. [passage omitted]

[Mitova] The discussion and implementation of such a program will probably be a lengthy process. While all this is going on, the consequences of the time lost will accumulate. What measures can be taken immediately?

[Dzhagarov] However well we may conceive our prospective all-embracing maximum program, we have no right to turn our backs on the present day, because behind every "blank area" in the country's television and radio coverage lie tens of thousands of people! Given good organization and the will to do it, we can utilize unexploited reserves to implement a very beneficial minimum program.

There are many matters relating to the material-technical base that are fully within the competence of the local municipal authorities, such as radio public address systems, for example. A great number of settlements, located in the very districts where the television and radio signals are poor or nonexistent, are either not equipped at all, or are only partially equipped with central radio loudspeaker systems, and yet a local radio network can be successfully used as a relay station for Bulgarian radio programs. Furthermore, we also have quite a few powerful district radio stations available that at present exist, more to serve certain people's sense of self-importance than to carry out their true function. [passage omitted]

[Mitova] In Sofia in 1986 a general agreement was signed for cooperation of the CEMA member countries in the field of developing communications systems and utilizing artificial satellites. According to the program drawn up under the agreement, after 1992 the socialist countries will be able to use common satellites for broadcasting their own television programs.

What, in your view, are the prospects for Bulgarian satellite television, given the present difficulties in covering the whole country with high-quality television and radio signals?

[Dzhagarov] We cannot seriously think about satellite television unless we solve all the current problems that we have been discussing and unless we improve the material-technical base to a level that enables us to launch ourselves into the television orbit around the earth as an equal partner. However, starting right now, we must define our national strategy, clearly formulate the aims and tasks for the Bulgarian satellite programs, and make an in-depth investigation of the considerable world experience already accumulated. This problem should occupy a central place in our all-embracing program. The same is true of cable television, which, although a very expensive undertaking for the Bulgarian economy, is capable of producing a good return on the money invested in it, especially if it is used for educational purposes. [passage omitted]

Aid Promised to UK in Tracking Semtex

LD2608140588 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1329 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Czechoslovakia has agreed to help Britain's security forces in the war against the IRA by trying to "fingerprint" the Semtex explosives used by the terrorists. Semtex, made exclusively in Czechoslovakia, is odourless and difficult to detect.

A Foreign Office spokesman said that after approaches through diplomatic channels in Prague the authorities there had promised to investigate whether Semtex could be given a distinctive "fingerprint" to help security forces detect it. The IRA is believed to have taken delivery of two tonnes of Semtex, and Libya's Col Al-Qadhdhafi is widely believed to have supplied it. It was used in the Omagh bus blast, the murder of a Naval recruiting officer, and was said to have been discovered by security forces tracking the IRA gang in Gibraltar.

The Foreign Office said the Czechs had promised a "substantive" answer on the technical aspects of "fingerprinting" the explosives. It could be done by giving them a distinctive smell. Conventional plastic explosives have a characteristic marzipan-type smell which can be detected by bomb disposal experts and sniffer dogs. The Czech authorities also gave a "categoric" assurance that they had never knowingly sold the explosives to anybody with terrorist connections.

The British Government is believed to be satisfied with the Czech response. "It is notoriously difficult for anybody to ensure 100 percent that these nasty things do not fall into the wrong hands," said one diplomatic source in London.

Light Plane Hijacked From Slovakia to Austria

LD2908181488 Prague CTK in English 1755 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—A sports aeroplane was hijacked at the airport of an aeroclub of the Union for Cooperation with the Army (Svazarm) at Holic, west Slovakia, Sunday morning.

Two masked men forced the pilot to cross the state border to Austria where the plane landed in a field. Immediately after the hijackers left the plane the pilot took off again and returned back to Czechoslovakia. The case is being investigated.

Foreign Minister Chnoupek Meets FRG Leaders

Chnoupek Meets Kohl

LD2908221088 Prague CTK in English 1610 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn Aug 29 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, on an official working visit to West Germany since yesterday, was received here today by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The Czechoslovak official voiced satisfaction of the Czechoslovak state and party leadership over the achieved progress in relations between Czechoslovakia and West Germany. He emphasized the conviction of the Czechoslovak side about the irreplaceability of a top-level dialogue for a dynamic and fruitful development of relations to the benefit of the people of the two countries as confirmed by the results of recent talks between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal in Prague.

Bohuslav Chnoupek pointed out Czechoslovakia's readiness to continue these contacts and stressed that Czechoslovakia understands a high-level dialogue as a contribution to the further improvement of international relations and creation of the conditions of confidence necessary for the continuation of the process of disarmament.

Bohuslav Chnoupek also appreciated the joint effort of the two countries in the environmental protection, and pointed out the lasting development of cultural exchange between Czechoslovakia and West Germany.

Helmut Kohl underlined the necessity of control of the implementation of the tasks agreed on during his visit to Prague, both by the two countries' Foreign Ministries and the heads of their governments, and added that he is ready to use all his political authority to ensure implementation of the present and future tasks to the benefit of the people and economy of the two countries. He noted that some 25 per cent of the about 100 points of mutual cooperation agreed on during his stay in Prague last January have been implemented to date.

The West German chancellor invited Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal for a reciprocal official working visit to West Germany at the beginning of next year.

He underlined West Germany's interest in continuing the policy of understanding between the East and West, in improving relations with the socialist countries, in building the common European home. He said that with regard to West Germany's important role in NATO and the European Economic Community, he wants to pursue a policy contributing to the strengthening of the structures of security and understanding and to disarmament initiatives. He again voiced West Germany's wish to dynamically and concretely develop relations with Czechoslovakia, in the interest of the further perspective development.

Chnoupek Meets Genscher

LD2908221488 Prague CTK in English 1831 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn Aug 29 (CTK Correspondent)—Political contacts between Czechoslovakia and West Germany have achieved a new level due to the January meeting between the heads of the two countries' governments,

Foreign Ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek of Czechoslovakia and Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany stated during their talks here today.

They added that now it is necessary to centre on the implementation of the priority intentions of cooperation as agreed during the meeting.

Bohuslav Chnoupek appreciated the present level of economic contacts noting that the mutual goods exchange has been constantly growing in the past few years. He stressed that ever more attention is being paid to the quality of goods as well as to improvement of the existing unsatisfactory structure of Czechoslovakia's exports and to modern flexible forms of economic and trade cooperation. He characterized the establishment of relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the European Economic Community (EEC) as a new positive factor in the economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and West Germany similarly as the EEC's decision to establish diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and other CMEA countries.

The two ministers in this connection discussed the ways to overcome possible unfavorable consequences of the planned economic, political and military intergration of the EEC countries for the building of the common European home.

Discussing international topics, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Hans-Dietrich Genscher underlined the necessity of joint effort of all states participating in the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to reach its speediest possible and successful conclusion that would help start talks on the control of conventional armament in Europe. Bohuslav Chnoupek pointed out that the danger of war has been put off thanks to joint effort but has not yet been definitively liquidated. Therefore the chief task of the present is to develop all favourable trends and make them continuous and irreversible, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said.

Both sides emphasized their interest in a speedy signing of a treaty on a world-wide ban on chemical weapons. Bohuslav Chnoupek recalled the proposals of the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to create a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe as a step in support of their world-wide ban. He also recalled the proposal of Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states and pointed out the possibilities of its realization in the framework of West German-Czechoslovak relations. He stressed Czechoslovakia's view that this initiative opens up a wide scope for concrete contribution to the building of the common European home.

Chnoupek Addresses Banquet

LD2908221888 Prague CTK in English 1923 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn Aug 29 (CTK Correspondent)—West German foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher gave a dinner here tonight in honour of visiting Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek. In his speech at the dinner, Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed that the talks again proved bilateral interest in further all-round development of mutual relations, for which the peaceful reconstruction of the European home creates an exceptionally broad scope.

Czechoslovakia sees with satisfaction the rising trend of cooperation in the economic sphere, mainly in extension of industrial cooperation, establishment of joint ventures and cooperation in third countries for which the restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia creates favourable prerequisites. The same significance is attached by Czechoslovakia to exchange in the sphere of culture, science and education and contacts between people in general, Bohuslav Chnoupek said.

He pointed out that new possibilities for the development of East-West relations have been emerging. Czechoslovakia appreciates the positive role of the Federal Republic of Germany and Hans-Dietrich Genscher's personal contribution to their improvement, and is interested in further extension of these favourable tendencies. The Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states bear special responsibility for further development, Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed.

Bohuslav Chnoupek pointed out, however, that Czechoslovakia is concerned at the attempts to devaluate the first steps in nuclear disarmament by modernizing old weapons systems. It fears that the tendencies towards a political and military integration of Western Europe and measures connected with the creation of a "United Europe" might violate the favourably developing Helsinki process.

At the recent session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee a platform for talks on reduction of the armed forces and equipment in Europe has been worked out. A significant document calling for working out principles of international ecological security has also been adopted, Bohuslav Chnoupek said.

He pointed out that the priority task for the nearest future is to reach an agreement on a 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons and an agreement on a ban on chemical weapons and their liquidation, as well as to conclude the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) follow-up meeting with the adoption of a well-balanced final document. At the same time it is necesary to work out a mandate for talks on conventional armed forces and equipment in Europe which would not exclude any conventional armament.

Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized that relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community, which have been established under the chairmanship of West Germany and with personal assistance of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, must further develop. Czechoslovakia believes that now it will be possible to remove barriers impeding the developing of all-European economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

The Czechoslovakia initiative presented by Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes is an important contribution to this effort. This initiative opens a broad scope for concrete contribution towards the construction of the common European home and removal of useless pictures of the enemy. Its comprehensive character but also its openness to all peace-building impetuses fully correspond with the spirit of Helsinki.

The two countries could play a significant role in the implementation of these confidence-building steps, especially in central Europe, Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed.

Genscher Addresses Banquet

LD2908222288 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn Aug 29 (CTK Correspondent)—West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today pointed out the possibilities to reach a new quality of relations between the East and West, adding that West Germany seeks peaceful competition between the two systems.

Speaking at a dinner given here today in honour of visiting Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, Hans-Deitrich Genscher laid great stress on the necessity to speedily and successfully conclude the Vienna follow-up meeting of the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In this connection he again highly appreciated the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles calling it a victory of reason over outdated thinking. He added that the West German Government supports all efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union for an early signing of an agreement on 50-per cent cuts in strategic offensive weapons of the two countries.

The West German minister also pointed out the need to conclude as soon as possible an agreement on a general ban on chemical weapons whose text is awaiting its completion in Geneva. He positively evaluated the tripartite talks between delegations of Czechoslovakia, West Germany and the German Democratic Republic which he said should continue with an aim to speed up negotiations on a world-wide ban on chemical weapons.

The West German foreign minister welcomed the Czechoslovak initiative in support of confidence and good neighbourly relations in central Europe and stressed that the West German Government seeks long-term cooperation and confidence in the framework of the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in which all European states should actively participate.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed in conclusion that his meeting with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek is taking place at a time showing promise of strengthening cooperation in Europe and the world. Czechoslovakia and West Germany are neighbours in the heart of Europe, on the line dividing two social systems and therefore have a special responsibilty. Peace and Security in Europe cannot be achieved without the two countries; effective support, Hans-Dietrich Genscher said stressing the resolution to contribute to peace and stabilty in Europe by enhancing cooperation between the two countries.

FRG Reportage on Visit

For West German media coverage of the visit to Bonn of Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, including his talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 29 August West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Strougal Receives Brazilian State Governor

LD2308200688 Prague CTK in English 1113 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received today Amazonino Armando Mendes, governor of the Brazilian state of Amazonas, currently in Czechoslovakia on a business visit.

During their cordial and business-like discussion, the two officials recalled the traditional cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Brazil which was given a new impulse by Lubomir Strougal's recent visit to Brazil.

The premier emphasized Czechoslovakia's interest in cooperating with Amazonas, in tested as well as all modern forms, and recommended broader cooperation in diesel motors, including their assembly on the spot.

Amazonino Armando Mendes showed interest in supplies of textile machinery and other Czechoslovak products.

Slusovice's Direct Links With USSR Enterprises

AU1908093088 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by Jaroslav Svoboda, worker of the CPCZ Central Committee: "Experience From the Development of Direct Links in CEMA Countries' Agricultural and Food Complex; Mutual Goods Exchange Is Not the Only Form of Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Agrokombinat United Agricultural Cooperative [JZD] of Slusovice is developing direct links with a vegetable-growing enterprise in the

Gotvald District in the Ukrainian SSR, and the Agrofirma Adazhi near Riga in the Latvian SSR. With the Agrofirma Adazhi it cooperates in the transplantation of embryos. Staffers from the Slusovice enterprise began transplanting frozen cattle embryos from donor cows of the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice to recipient cows bred by the Agrofirma Adazhi in November 1986. A total of 202 embryos were transplanted by 1 January 1988; 52 percent of the transplantations were successful.

The JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice cooperates with Ukrainian enterprises in the intensification of corn yields. [passage omitted] In 1985, on an area of 500 hectares, the yield there was 4.3 metric tons per hectare; in 1986, on an area of 1,000 hectares, the yield was 4.5 metric tons per hectare; and last year, on an area of 2,000 hectares, the yield already was 6.5 metric tons per hectare, which is double the previous normal yield in that region.

On the other hand, the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice has acquired access to a tried and tested manner of growing healthy potatoes, to the construction of new glasshouses for intensified vegetable-growing, and to certain types of agricultural machinery. Another important thing: With the help of direct links, the two partners acquired immediate definitive results, without having to undertake separate development work. Therefore, direct links are important in the acceleration of enterprises' economic development. [passage omitted]

Soviet Envoy Addresses Friendship Conference
LD2508210788 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association Central Committee held a conference for its officials today in Prague, devoted to the course and conclusions of the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference. Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin, who was a delegate to the conference, spoke in detail about the conclusions of the conference in the sphere of internal and foreign policy, about the results of the Soviet economy in the past 2 years, and also discussed some negative aspects in the course of restructuring Soviet society.

PRC Youth Delegation Makes Rounds in Prague
AU2608144788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Vasil Mohorita, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SYU], received a delegation of the Communist Youth League Central Committee in Prague on Tuesday [23 August]. Song Defu, the head of the delegation of the Communist Youth League Central Committee, acquainted representatives of the SYU Central Committee with the current situation in the Chinese youth organization and with the methods and forms of work designed to contribute to further improving its activity. The delegation was received by Prague Mayor Josef Hajek the same day. The meeting was attended by Wang Xingda, PRC ambassador to the CSSR. The Chinese guests were also received by the heads of MLADA FRONTA, the daily of the SYU Central Committee.

Leaders Congratulate Congo on National Day
AU1708104088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Aug 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations on the National Day of the People of the Congo; in the Sign of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague— Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President Gustav Husak, sent to Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, a congratulatory telegram on that country's national day.

The telegram expresses appreciation of the results which are being achieved by the Congolese people under the leadership of the Congolese Party of Labor on the road to building a new, socially just society, and in the course of the realization of the set economic programs. It also stresses the active contribution of the progressive foreign policy of the People's Republic of the Congo to the struggle for peace, security, and development in Africa and throughout the world. It expresses the conviction that the traditional friendly relations and cooperation between the two parties, states, and nations will continue to successfully develop.

CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal sent a congratulatory telegram to Edouard Poungui, prime minister of the People's Republic of the Congo, on the same occasion.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, congratulated Antoine Ndinga-Oba, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation of the People's Republic of the Congo.

Zambian President Receives CPCZ Delegation
LD2508192788 Prague CTK in English 1656 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] Lusaka Aug 25 (CTK)—Zambian President and Chairman of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) Kenneth Kaunda received here today a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by secretary of its Central Committee Frantisek Hanus.

The two countries' representatives appreciated the level of bilateral relations.

Leaders Congratulate Afghanistan on National Day

AU1908151188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Aug 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Telegrams to Afghanistan"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak, have sent to Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Republic of Afghanistan, a congratulatory telegram on the 69th anniversary of the proclamation of the country's independence.

The telegram stresses that Afghanistan—by its long and courageous struggle for national freedom and independence, which culminated in 1919—has won the profound admiration and respect of progressive forces throughout the world. The telegram highly values the current endeavor of the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan to achieve peace and stability in the country through a consistent implementation of the policy of national reconciliation. It also expresses the conviction that the traditionally firm bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two countries will continue to successfully develop.

CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal has sent a congratulatory telegram to Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, on the occasion of his country's National Day.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, too, has sent a congratulatory telegram to 'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Lenart Receives MPRP's Damdin in Prague

LD2508215488 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] Comrade Jozef Lenart and Paabangiyn Damdin, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), who is currently visiting Czechoslovakia, met today in Prague for talks.

Jakes Addresses Regional Officials

LD2908215988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] At the conclusion of his working visit to the West Slovak region, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary Milos Jakes met in Bratislava today with representatives of party and state bodies and the social organizations of the region's National Front.

In his address at this discussion, Comrade Milos Jakes said among other things:

[Begin Jakes recording] I would also like to give an overall appraisal of the stable results which are being achieved by the West Slovak region, not only in agriculture where they are especially pronounced, but in the entire sphere of industry, in influencing people's thinking and upbringing, in education, in cadre training, and so on. It is necessary to continue to improve things in keeping with new requirements.

It is not only Czechoslovakia which has entered the new stage, the stage of accelerating socioeconomic development through restructuring and democratization. The Soviet Union has provided important momentum for this. Although the Soviet Union faces many problems, they are different as far as their urgency is concerned from those in Czechoslovakia, for example. But the fundamental trend is absolutely the same and is unequivocal. It is to create new conditions for developing forces of production, conditions which correspond to the decisive role of scientific and technical development and include the development of man, as well as those which further ensure the country's socio-economic development. The sustance for creating these conditions rest in restructuring economic mechanism through economic reform and in expanding the process of democratization. In short, democratization in the sense of active participation of people in managing and controlling the state and national economy, in enhancing their rights to protect freedom, civic rights, etc. The key question in this—and the today's discussion was aimed at this too—is enhancing the authority of the lower links of management. This means national committee and first and foremost municipal national committees as far as the state sphere is concerned. As far as the enterprise production sphere is concerned—be it agriculture, industry, construction, agriculture [repetition as heard], transport, or trade—it is enhancing the basic links, i.e. the state of cooperative enterprises in keeping with the appropriate law on state or cooperative enterprise. This is decisive.

I would like to say that the fundamental thing—what we should do, what is permitted, so to speak, what you can do, the way the enterprise can conduct itself—is clearly defined in this law. The rights and duties of the work collective council, director, and founder are also clearly defined in it. Practice will, of course, bring experience in how to implement this—through which methods, ways, etc. However, as far as workers council jurisdiction is concerned, it states clearly the area of its decisionmaking. It also states clearly the subject discussed and consulted, as well as the subject on which it expresses its views. If there is a dispute between the work collective council and the director, then a founder decides on these issues. This is also clearly stated here.

I would say that what is needed is to gain experience and to implement in practice all that is good and which has proven itself. Every time we embark on something new, it is vital to quickly transfer good experience into practice so that others will not have to walk along a thorny path. This is an important task for the party bodies and

organizations and also of course for the management sphere, as well for each National Front organization from the viewpoint of the stance which it maintains in this process of management and in the process of strengthening and broadening of democracy. [end recording]

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1800 GMT on 29 August carries a report on Jakes' meeting with regional party and state representatives. The reports states: "The meeting which was also attended by Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, discussed topical questions of implementing the party's strategy to accelerate socioeconomic development through restructuring the economic and public life."]

Spokesman on Prague Disturbances, Other Issues

AU2608152888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 88 p 1

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondents Jan Kovarik and Igor Sirota: "Press Conference at the CSSR Government Presidium; Comprehensive Restructuring Is the Centerpiece"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] **Prague (Our Correspondents)—After a 3-week recess the first regular press conference on the CSSR Government's deliberations was held in the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium on Tuesday [23 August]. At the press conference Government Spokesman Miroslav Pavel informed Czechoslovak and foreign journalists about the deliberations of the government held on Monday [22 August], which we reported yesterday. He also provided information on the Czechoslovak Government's work schedule for the second half of this year.**

The centerpiece of the government activity will be the realization of the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism. One of the fundamental documents, which it will discuss, is, for example, the draft prognosis of Czechoslovakia's scientific-technical, economic, and social development through the year 2010. The specific points of the CSSR Government's agenda then will be, for example, the amendment of financial-economic instruments in foreign trade, the results of the survey of capital investment projects, measures aimed at enhancing the extent and the quality of the maintenance of the housing stock in the Ninth 5-Year Plan, health care for the people, and many other subjects. The CSSR Government will also address legislative issues and develop legal norms that are necessary for the further course of our society's restructuring. Therefore, it will discuss, for example, the principles of the law on national economic planning, the draft of the Labor Code, as well as the principles for legal amendment for small-scale enterepreneurship. The government also will acquaint itself with the implementation of tasks connected with the reduction of the central bodies' apparatus.

When answering questions, Miroslav Pavel discussed the disturbances on Sunday [21 August] in Wenceslas Square, Old Town Square, and the adjacent streets in Prague. He said: "According to the estimate of the National Security Corps, there were 4,000 persons at the most involved; roughly 1,000 persons can be described as active participants in that action. Other figures, those published in the West, are exaggerated and distorted."

In response to the questions of Western journalists, who were only interested in the events of Sunday evening in Prague, he said that the detained participants in those actions are being gradually released from custody, but those who committed illegal acts will be called to account. On Tuesday morning there were still 15 citizens in detention, but no foreign nationals.

M. Pavel also noted that the intervention of the security forces has been generally regarded as prudent. They did not let themselves be provoked to incommensurate actions, which was an obvious objective of some of the participants. Only after signs of the disturbance of public order and hooliganism did they act in an appropriate, but still circumspect manner.

Miroslav Pavel said that the Western media had created an almost combative mood around 21 August long before that date. A total of 15 television teams and some 500 Western journalists had arrived in the CSSR. The action of members of the Italian Radical Party in Wenceslas Square, too, affirmed the effort to provoke unrest and instability. Many people in the West would like to see our country as a place of demonstrations, strikes, and unrest. However, such a state of affairs is the last thing the people of our country and the government need. We are facing complex and weighty tasks of restructuring our entire society, which also requires, of course, a very open discussion of all problems. However, screaming in the streets and throwing bottles, as was the case with the actions that took place in Prague on Sunday night, which remained limited to only a very few people, is not a discussion.

By withdrawing half of the contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan by 15 August in accordance with the Geneva agreements, the Soviet Union accurately fulfilled its pledge and the Republic of Afghanistan strives for a consistent implementation of the adopted document, said **Dusan Rovensky**, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Czechoslovakia is in solidarity with the Republic of Afghanistan. It regards the interference of the Pakistani Government, which continues to tolerate the so-called interim government composed of various Afghan refugees organizing subversive activity against Afghanistan and preventing many Afghans from returning home, as the main obstacle to the normalization of the situation.

and the accurate implementation of the Geneva agreement. The CSSR's opinion is that the UN, through its control activity, should contribute to the implementation of agreements.

D. Rovensky announced that **Bohuslav Chnoupek will pay an official working visit to the FRG** on 28-30 August. The visit is a part of the well-developing dialogue between the two countries, to which the January talks between the FRG chancellor and the highest Czechoslovak representatives in Prague provided new impetus. Asked about the **construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme**, the spokesman said that the recent talks between ministers of foreign affairs of the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic affirmed that this is a mutually advantageous project and that its completion will benefit the two states.

Official on 'Democratization' of National Front

AU2608111588 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 August on page 3 carries a 3,000-word interview with Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, by Kamila Jaskova, entitled "People's Active Participation in Shaping Policy." The place and date of the interview are not given.

In the interview Travnicek discusses the role of National Front agencies and organizations in "deepening democracy in all spheres of social life." More specifically, he reviews the National Front's tasks in light of the "Proposals Aimed at Activating the National Front and Organizations Associated in it and at Enhancing their Participation in Shaping, Implementing, and Controlling Policy," a document that has been approved by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

Speaking on the implications of the Seventh and Ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee (which outlined the program of restructuring) for the work of the National Front, Travnicek says: "It is necessary to build on all the tested Gottwaldian principles of the National Front as restored after the crisis-ridden period, at the nationwide National Front conference at the beginning of 1971, to follow up on all the good experiences which yielded success and that represent the permanently valid basis for the further development of the National Front's mission and activity. At the same time, it is essential to eliminate everything that complicates and hampers the work, initiative, and activity of all parts of the National Front and the entire political system, such as the administrative-command system of management, bureaucratic approaches, and the formalism and, in particular, low degree of independence and co-responsibility that arise from them. Simultaneously, it is necessary to explore and outline new ways, approaches, and methods of work so as to prepare and equip the National Front for the fulfillment of the exceedingly demanding current and future, new, and truly revolutionary tasks." Travnicek concedes that "we are only at the beginning" of the activation of the National Front, especially in the primary organizations, and that organizations in some localities "have not even started, or are dragging their feet."

In subsequent replies, Travnicek discusses some specific aspects of the work of the National Front. Asked about the possibility of introducing a secret ballot in its organizations, for instance, he says that some organizations, such as the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, already apply it, "although often very formally," and that other organizations, such as the Socialist Youth Union, are experimenting with it in primary organizations, at conferences, or in preparing their congresses. He says that it is the "democratic right" of each National Front organization to determine the manner of elections and that "as a matter of principle, agencies of the National Front do not interfere in the internal life of member organizations." Even with regard to the election of member organizations' delegates to National Front agencies, Travnicek says, National Front agencies "can only recommend the procedure to be applied." He goes on to say: "The existing practice [of electing delegates for National Front agencies] is often very formalistic and a far cry from the democratic principle of delegating. The primary organization's committee or the presidium of the member organization's superior agency usually agree on whom to appoint as their representative in the relevant agency of the National Front. The principle of election, let alone secret ballot, at a plenary meeting of the social organization concerned or at a plenary meeting of that member organization's superior agency has often not been implemented at all." Travnicek attributes this to "deeply ingrained approaches, but also complacency," because this approach does not require political work and an open dialogue with rank-and-file members. In contrast to this practice, he adds, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front recommends that member organizations' delegates be elected at members' meetings. He also expresses his "personal belief" that "in the near future, in the interest of deepening democracy in the life of member organizations as well as in the agencies of the National Front, it will be right to elect delegates from a larger number of candidates and to do so by secret ballot."

It is this "full application of the democratic principle of delegating," Travnicek goes on to say, that represents the "basic guarantee" of National Front agencies becoming "forms of all-people's control and equal collaborators and partners of both elected and non-elected state bodies, enterprise and cooperative collectives, instead of being the mere executors of party and state policy."

Speaking about changes in the methods of National Front agencies, Travnicek says that "bureaucratic approach and formalism" must disappear from their work and that contact with primary organizations must be improved. He also notes that, in line with the document on the activation of the National Front, some

"changes of principle" must be prepared. In this connection he says: "It is necessary, for example, to adapt the principles of the National Front so that they conform with the requirements of the time and fully support the deepening of socialist democracy and to revise existing or adopt new election laws. All these things are being worked on already. National Front agencies and member organizations, as one of the pillars of the entire electoral system, will at some point become involved in the specific negotiations on these principles and possible changes. As soon as the first drafts are put forward, we shall cooperate on their final codification."

CPSL Presidium Discusses Economic Plans

LD2308233688 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] The Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee discussed at its session today a report on the development of the national economy in Slovakia and the implementation of the State Plan for the first 6 months of 1988. It noted that the favorable trend of development from the first quarter of this year has been reinforced in the national economy of Slovakia. In sectors under the control of the Government of the Slovak SR cost was reduced, profit was increased, and export in foreign trade was fulfilled.

Despite these positive results the implementation of the plan is quite uneven in individual sectors of the national economy. Neither quality and sales of products in high-level markets nor costs are in keeping with demands.

An unfavorable situation persists for putting (projects) into operation, and tasks in comprehensive housing construction are not met.

The Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee approved political-organization provisions for the implementation of the tasks of the State Executive Plan for development of the national economy of Slovakia for 1989. The aim of the measures adopted is to contribute to the creation of conditions for a successful changeover of the economy with the application of new elements of the economic mechanism. This requires us to [word indistinct] the tasks of restructuring with a good-quality implementation next year of the tasks of the State Executive Plan.

The Presidium also acquainted itself with a report assessing the overall efficiency of measures to improve the quality of products and praised the People's Control Committee of Slovakia for quickly creating a sector for quality control and carrying out inspections in selected organizations. It emphasized that the problems of quality of production must be at the center of attention.

It also discussed a report on securing the implementation of a program to do away with loss-making in industrial enterprises, including the construction industry, agriculture, water and forest management, and the wood processing industry.

The Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee at its session today also discussed other issues of organizational activities and cadre work of the party in Slovakia.

Zavadil Addresses Regional TU Council

LD2508212588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Text] The North Moravia Regional Trade Union Council discussed in Ostrava yesterday the contribution of trade union bodies and organizations to the implementation of the topical tasks of restructuring the economic mechanism. The discussion emphasized that it is necessary to expand the brigade form of labor organization and reward speed and flexibility more.

Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, said at the session that restructuring of the conditions of the work of trade unions did not mean negation of the results achieved so far. This however does not mean, he said, that we shall avoid critical views, evaluation of shortcomings, and reservations in the work of trade unions.

Discussion of Nagymaros Project Increases

AU2308124088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Aug 88 p 4

[Article by Gejza Vilcek, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent correspondent in Budapest: "Sentiments and Facts Surrounding the Hydroelectric Scheme; For and Against, Against, Against"]

[Text] The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme is being extensively discussed in the Hungarian press and radio. Room is being provided for completely contradictory opinions—from defense of the hydroelectric project, to demands to halt its construction. One has to admit that the opponents of the project have a stronger and more provocative voice.

Polemics between experts already took place a long time ago; according to the weekly MAGYARORSZAG the period between 1977 and 1983 was the time of polemical expert studies. Arguments were exhausted in those 3 decades, and the projects which crystallized are being implemented today. From the professional point of view, the discussion seems to be an anachronism. But it goes on nevertheless. It is becoming more extensive, apparently because the formerly "unpleasant" opinions of the public are being given space.

In the discussion, facts are coming to light which have not been published until now. These are, for example, influences from abroad, such as the awarding of the so-called alternative Nobel Prize to the Duna Circle by the Right Livelihood Award [English title as published] organization, the involvement of the so-called Danubian Coalition "somewhere in the world," etc.

After a demonstration in Budapest against the hydroelectric scheme, the idea that "there is still time to halt the construction" (MAGYAR NEMZET) has been formulated for the first time. In June this year, during demonstrations against the elimination of villages in Romania, leaflets were distributed saying that "the abolition of Romanian villages and the transformation of the Danubian countryside through the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme are tantamount to the destruction of man's environment."

The daily MAGYAR NEMZET gave space to an expert on international law, who noted that the "matter will become hopeless when the construction is halted, only when they begin building the 'work ditch,' in Nagymaros." [sentence as published]

Week after week, UJ TUKOR provides space for discussion; not so long ago it gave space to a retired graduate engineer, who in 19 points very convincingly disproves concern about a "gross infringement of nature." He states, among other things, that in the past 2,000 years interference by humans has reduced the forestation in the Danube area from 95 to 25 percent. He presents examples of two inconsistent acts of interference at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries; he is of the opinion that, after two harmful acts of interference in nature, it is time to carry out one really good and useful act of interference, such as the hydroelectric schemes. At the same time, the weekly KEPES 7 published reportage in which the author sighs over an old photograph of the River Danube: King Matyas and those who lived before and after him were able to see this countryside exactly as it was....

Doubts about the project's economic benefits are being given space. The majority of newspapers have also published information from the general director of the Oviber investment enterprise: If the capital investment project were to be halted, Czechoslovakia would rightly demand damages amounting to 30 billion forints, Austrian companies 8 to 10 billion, and domestic enterprises supplying installations for the project would ask for 2 to 3 billion forints in damages. Also mentioned were views that the construction of auxiliary installations (cleaners, dams, etc.) drains away funds from other urgent water economy capital investment projects in Miskolc and Debrecen (MAGYAR NEMZET). Some articles sound as if the hydroelectric scheme would only serve to solve Austria's energy problems (Franz Heister of the Austrian Ecological Institute in the weekly KEPES 7). In connection with Czechoslovakia, a mistaken view has cropped up that this project would be a "hasty and ill-conceived reaction by the two states to the energy crisis in the 1970's." However, other newspapers note that the idea of using the Danube is an old one, and that the first survey in that respect began on the initiative of the water economy office as far back as 1946 (MASGYAROSZAG).

Regarding the entire extensive discussion, it is necessary to recall that in the Hungarian People's Republic there was a period when nothing was published about the hydroelectric scheme, and isolated doubts were depicted as oppositionist. And precisely because of this the hunger for information is so great. According to an MTI report, only recently it was decided to found the Pal Vasarhelyi Society, which sets itself the task of explaining to the broad public the efforts and the work of water economy experts.

Also worth recalling is the fact that the Hungarian side's investment in the hydroelectric scheme in the current 5-year plan constitutes only 2 percent of the total investment of the country's socialist sector, as Gyorgy Hatvani, general director of the trust of the Hungarian Electricity Works, told us.

Leaders' Public Appearances 18-24 Aug

AU2608111188 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech from 19 to 25 August reports the following appearances of CSSR leaders (date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Central Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee, was among those who attended the activation of the operation of new equipment for the reception of television programs relayed by satellites,in Sedlec-Prcice in the Benesov district on 18 August. (19 Aug p 2)

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Giovanni Castellani Pastoris, Italian ambassador to the CSSR, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 18 August. (19 Aug p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, paid a visit to Prague subway builders on 19 August. (20 Aug p 2)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Vaclav Bejcek, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Nigeria, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 22 August. (23 Aug p 1)

Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the funeral of musicologist Dr Vaclav Holzknect in Prague on 22 August. (23 Aug p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received a West Slovak agricultural delegation on the occasion of the end of the harvesting work in the region, in Bratislava on 22 August. (23 Aug p 2)

Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, received Vaclav Bejcek, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Nigeria, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 23 August. (24 Aug p 1)

Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of the interior, addressed an aktiv of party and service functionaries of CSSR security agencies in Prague on 24 August. (24 Aug pp 1, 2)

Ignac Janak; Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR; and Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CPSL Central Committee secretary, attended an award ceremony in Bratislava on 24 August for this year's recipients of Slovak National Prizes. (25 Aug p 2)

Honecker Addresses Flight Anniversary Meeting
AU2908193688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Aug 88 p 2

[Address by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, at a meeting with Cosmonauts Valeriy Bykovskiy, Sigmund Jaehn, and Eberhard Koellner in the State Council building in Berlin on 26 August: "The Cosmonauts Fulfilled Their Countries' Mission Honorably"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Valeriy Fedorovich Bykovskiy!

Dear Comrade Sigmund Jaehn!

Dear Comrade Eberhard Koellner!

Ten years ago today marked the beginning of the first manned USSR-GDR joint space flight. Our country's citizens learned from the press, radio, and television that one of them, the Communist Sigmund Jaehn, officer of the National People's Army, together with his commanding officer, the experienced flight cosmonaut of the USSR, Valeriy Bykovskiy, was on his way to the Salyut 6/Soyuz 29 space complex on board the Soyuz 31 spaceship. Lieutenant Colonel Koellner worked at the flight control center as a consultant.

During the 1-week flight, the third intercosmos crew together with the permanent crew of Salyut 6, Vladimir Kovalyonok and Aleksandr Ivanchenko, carried out an ambitious scientific program, demonstrating considerable diligence, broad initiative, and large expertise. After their safe landing, both cosmonauts reported that they had honorably fulfilled the mission of their parties, peoples, and countries.

A new chapter had been added to the successful cooperation of the intercosmos countries in the common research and use of space for peaceful purposes. This event, which is important in our people's life, was an expression of German-Soviet friendship which has proved its worth a thousandfold in the struggles of our times.

Owing to the Soviet comrades' deeply internationalist attitude and our fraternal cooperation with the USSR in the research and use of space for peaceful purposes, our country has found its firm place in this area which is so important for the progress of mankind. In the more than 21 years since the founding of the Intercosmos program, the GDR made available more than 150 board instruments for about 70 space vehicles. Highly efficient scientific instruments and equipment, developed by our country's specialists, are part of the standard equipment of Soviet spaceships and space stations.

The implementation of the policy oriented at the people's well-being, which was adopted by the 11th SED Congress, and its principle to use science and technology in the interests of socialism and the people have led to results that allow us to constantly deepen cooperation between scientific institutions and enterprises in the GDR and USSR.

In the past 10 years, the Soviet Union has consistently continued its program of opening up space for peaceful purposes. Like Salyut 6 many years ago, the Mir scientific long-term station, which has been in orbit for 2 and ½ years, has become a symbol of the peoples' peaceful and beneficial cooperation in space.

The appeal made by the CPSU and the Soviet Government on 12 April 1961 on the occasion of Yuriy Gagarin's first space flight, to develop space through joint efforts into a place of scientific-technological cooperation in the interests of peace and progress, has been implemented step by step. With its performance, the Soviet Union has for ever written its name in the book of history as the pioneer of space research and the use of space for peaceful purposes. At the same time, it has shown how to solve the problems of the nuclear-cosmic age that greatly worry mankind, so that life on our earth becomes more secure, more beautiful, and more worth living. In this respect, the 27th CPSU Congress has given further impetus.

The USSR's star peace program is the only reasonable alternative to the plans of those who intend to shift the arms race into space and to change space into a possible future battlefield. Therefore, the proposals and activities of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist countries, aimed at halting the arms race on earth and preventing it in space, are of substantial importance in the discussion on the question of war or peace.

The GDR will spare no efforts if our task is to push through these proposals against various forms of opposition. As before, it will contribute its active share to this end.

Dear comrades!

I congratulate you wholeheartedly on the 10th anniversary of your heroic deed in space. Your space flight at the time and its results which illustrate how to use science and technology for a peaceful future of mankind, as well as your frequent appearance have left a deep and mobilizing impact on the USSR and the GDR as well as in many other countries of the world.

I wish you all the best for the future, good health and creativity in resolving the peaceful tasks for the benefit of our socialist community.

Honecker Greets Cooperative Peasants, Workers

AU2908134288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Aug 88 p 3

[Message, hand-signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the cooperative peasants, agricultural workers, and their helpers: "Recognition and Thanks for Achievements Under Complicated Conditions"]

[Text] Dear cooperative peasants and workers of socialist agriculture, dear helpers in the grain harvest:

I would like to convey my cordial thanks to you all for your industrious work over the past few weeks.

Weather conditions have been complicated and often difficult for agriculture. Therefore, your achievements deserve all the more recognition and thanks, and it is to be all the more appreciated that the cooperative peasants, the workers, and all those who have helped them and continue to help them are struggling to fulfill the national economic plan and to reach the competition target. This is also confirmed by the letters of the cooperative peasants from Guetzkow and Dahnsdorf.

The increasingly closer links between science and practical peasant work has born fruit. As in the past, the alliance of the workers class with the class of the cooperative peasants has always proved its worth in this connection. The decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 13th GDR Peasants Congress have again been confirmed in everyday life.

Dear cooperative peasants and workers of socialist agriculture:

You are faced with more weeks of strenuous work. Through the efforts of the entire village the grain harvest was carried out, root crops and fodder are being harvested, and cultivation work is being done. I am sure that here, too, one can rely on the other and that all will work together. At the side of the cooperative peasants in crop production are those of livestock production, the workers of socialist agriculture, the people working in the peasants' trade cooperatives, the members of the FDJ brigades, those working in interenterprise facilities, and all others.

The tested power of cooperation and the advice and work of agricultural science thus help establish the conditions to achieve further successes next year, the 40th year of our GDR.

With socialist greetings,
Erich Honecker [facsimile of signature]
Berlin, 26 August 1988

Felfe Receives Soviet Agricultural Official

LD2608214588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1407 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 26 Aug (ADN)—The scope for the accelerated intensification of agricultural production was the subject of a conversation for which Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, today received a study delegation headed by Ivan Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Agriculture and Food Industry Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Felfe briefed the Soviet guests on the efforts of the cooperative farmers and workers of GDR agriculture to reduce and even to compensate for the harvest shortfalls caused by adverse weather conditions. The advantage of cooperation between the various agricultural enterprises in the GDR and their cooperation partners showed itself again especially during the present harvesting period. With the increasingly closer ties between science and farming practice, qualitatively new opportunities for mastering natural and economic processes are appearing.

Skiba explained the increased orientation of the national economy toward social concerns as decided by the 19th CPSU conference which resulted above all in new demands made on all those working in agriculture. The latest plenum of the CPSU Central Committee again underscored the urgency of the speedy resolution of food problems in the USSR, and laid down the necessary measures.

The two sides advocated the further deepening of the exchange of views and experiences between the two parties and discussed tasks for developing bilateral cooperation in the agricultural sector.

Felfe Receives Spanish CP Official

AU2208113088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Aug 88 p 2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, held a cordial talk with Luis Carlos Rejon, member of the Political Commission of the Spanish Communist Party [CP], at the Central Committee building on Friday [19 August].

In the course of the exchange of views, the two sides expressed satisfaction at the fact that a change for the better is becoming discernible in the international situation. With the entering into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the first practical step was taken on the path toward disarmament. This represents a great encouragement for all forces that are interested in peace.

However, because of the existing plans to "compensate" for the missiles that are to be scrapped, by increasing and modernizing other types of weapons, the international

situation continues to be complicated and contradictory. For this reason, now more than ever before vigorous efforts by all forces of reason and realism are urgently required to continue without an artificial pause the disarmament process that has been initiated. With their recently submitted proposals, the Warsaw Pact states have shown viable ways that take into consideration the interests of all sides. [passage omitted]

Axen Meets PRC Friendship Delegation
LD2908221788 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] The friendship delegation of the Chinese Communist Party which has been in the GDR for 2 weeks met with Hermann Axen in Berlin today. The Politburo member stressed that the SED has with the tested course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policies, successfully realized the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. The newly approaching problems and questions demand constantly new creative answers and solutions in both theory and practice. (Jang Wang Hua), leader of the Chinese delegation, spoke about topical tasks in the further execution of the reform and openness policies in his country.

SRV Envoy Gives Anniversary Talk
LD2508210088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, 25 Aug (ADN)—The lasting securing of peace is the objective of Vietnamese foreign policy. This was announced by the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the GDR, Ta Huu Canh [as heard], during a talk with the press today on the 43d anniversary of the founding of the SRV. Controversial questions in international relations must be resolved in a peaceful manner. This is especially the case in the Cambodia problem, to whose resolution the informal meeting in Jakarta made a decisive contribution. [passage omitted]

Ta Huu Canh paid tribute to the energetic and effective support of the GDR for his country and called for a further deepening of cooperation.

PLO Envoy Praises Nation's Solidarity
LD2208195188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1540 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, 22 Aug (ADN)—Dr 'Isan Kamil Salim, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the PLO to the GDR, paid tribute to the solidarity of the GDR with the struggle of the Palestinian people in a press interview in Berlin today. In connection with the traditional solidarity action of the GDR Journalists' Association (VDJ), he said that the long-proved demonstrable support was evident not only at the political level, but also in the form of pracrtical assitance. This included students being awarded grants, the care of wounded Palestinians, and holidays for Palestinian children and young people in the GDR. There also were friendly and allied relations between the VDJ and the Association of Palestinian Writers and Journalists. The diplomat, who was speaking on the uprising in the territories occupied by Israel, described the reprisals taken against Arab journalists in East Jerusalem, West Jordan, and the Gaza Strip. [passage omitted]

Regarding the Jordanian decision to break off all legal and administrative ties with West Jordan, Dr 'Isan Kamil Salim said that this step had created new conditions for the Palestinian struggle which were being considered by the PLO at the moment.

Message Sent to Perez de Cuellar on Disarmament
AU1908134588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Aug 88 p 5

[Text] New York (ADN)—In a letter to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, the GDR has explained its point of view on questions of regional disarmament, especially in Europe. In the letter, which was presented to UN headquarters in New York on Wednesday [17 August], the GDR reports in detail on the events of the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones which took place in Berlin in June.

Referring to the latest international developments in the sector of security and disarmament policy, the GDR's initiatives concerning the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe are explained. The proposals of the Warsaw Pact states are pointed out.

Delegation Ends Visit to Brazzaville
AU1908133988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Brazzaville (ADN)—The GDR delegation led by Dr Guenther Maleuda, GDR State Council deputy chairman, ended its visit to Brazzaville to attend ceremonies on the 25th anniversary of the revolution in Congo on Wednesday [17 August].

On the last day of its visit, the delegation was received for another talk by Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Congolese Labor Party (PCT) Central Committee, and president and prime minister of the People's Republic of the Congo. It also met with Jean Ganga Zandzou, president of the People's National Assembly, Fulgence Milandou, chairman of the Congolese Farmers' National Union, and Germain Manoungou, general secretary of the Congo-GDR Friendship Society.

CC Message to State Customs Administration

AU2908174888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Aug 88 p 3

[SED Central Committee message, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the State Customs Administration on its 36th anniversary: "Great Dedication to Strengthening Our Republic"]

[Text] Comrades Assistants, Noncommissioned Officers, and Officers of the GDR State Customs Administration:

On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR State Customs Administration, the SED Central Committee conveys to you cordial greetings and congratulations.

With exemplary dedication, the members of the GDR's socialist customs authority are making their contribution to implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. Under the leadership of the party, you are reliably fulfilling your class assignment for the overall strengthening of socialism, the welfare of the people, and the safeguarding of peace.

In close cooperation with enterprises, combines, and the state and economic management organs you are meeting the increasing requirements of guaranteeing our state's foreign trade and foreign exchange monopoly.

Rule of law and order are secured at any time in border-crossing tourist, goods, and mail traffic. Important results were achieved in reducing smuggling and speculations. An important basis for this are the trusting relations between the members of the GDR State Customs Administration and our country's working people. You are steadily working for the development of international cooperation with the customs administrations of the USSR and the other fraternal countries.

The SED Central Committee expresses its thanks and appreciation to all members of the GDR State Customs Administration, the managers, and party organizations for their great achievements.

We are convinced that in the future, too, you will do your duty in an exemplary way. The SED Central Committee wishes you much success and creative energy for this and also wishes you and your families good health and all the best in your personal life.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker

General Secretary.

CC Message to Socialist Party of Uruguay

AU2908171588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Aug 88 p 2

[ND report: "Congratulations to Chairman of Socialist Party of Uruguay; SED Central Committee Congratulates Dr Cardoso on 85th Birthday"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has addressed the following congratulatory telegram signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to Dr Jose Pedro Cardoso, chairman of the Socialist Party of Uruguay:

Esteemed Comrade Cardoso,

On the occasion of your 85th birthday I convey to you cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf.

We highly appreciate your political activities of many years for peace, democracy, and social progress and for the development of friendly relations between our parties and peoples at the head of the Socialist Party of Uruguay.

We wish you good health and personal well-being.
With socialist greetings,
SED Central Committee
E. Honecker
General Secretary.

Sindermann Congratulates Fechner on Birthday

LD2908154088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, in the name of the SED Central Committee and the highest representative body of the people, congratulated Herbert Fechner on his 75th birthday. On the instruction of Erich Honecker, the chairman of the Interparliamentary group was awarded the Karl Marx Order. A host of congratulants joined in, including the Council of State and the Council of Ministers.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 Aug

AU1908155388 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 12 to 18 August reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Siegfried Lorenz, Politburo member and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk SED leadership, attended the opening ceremonies of the eighth pioneer meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 17 August. (18 Aug p 1)

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, received Tolo Beavogui, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guinea, who presented his credentials in Berlin on 15 August. (16 Aug p 2)

Erich Honecker received Glaister George Duncan, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Jamaica, who presented his credentials in Berlin on 15 August. (16 Aug p 2)

Willi Stoph, Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers chairman, received Glaister George Duncan, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Jamaica, for his first visit in Berlin on 17 August. (18 Aug p 2)

Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, visited the Gartz LPG in Angermuende Kreis on 17 August. (18 Aug p 2)

Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a reception given by Dr Alfonso Barrera Valverde, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Ecuador, in Berlin on 12 August. (13-14 Aug p 2)

Inge Lange, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by the charge d'affaires of the Republic of Indonesia, Junor Soenarjo, in Berlin on 17 August. (18 Aug p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, Politburo member and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk SED leadership, attended a peace rally of young pioneers at the Sosa barrage on 14 August. (16 Aug p 1)

Alfred Neumann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by Justin Balley-Megot, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of the Congo, in Berlin on 15 August. (16 Aug p 2)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 18-24 Aug

AU2608120488 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 19 to 25 August reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, attended the final meeting of the Eighth Pioneer Meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 20 August. (20 Aug, p 1)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received the Portuguese ambassador for a first visit on 24 August. (25 Aug, p 2)

Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, visited the Pakistan Embassy to convey condolences on Ziaul Haq's death, on 18 August. (19 Aug, p 2)

Werner Felfe received Luis Carlos Rejon, member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, on 19 August. (20-21 Aug, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committe, attended the final meeting of the Eighth Pioneer Meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 20 August. (20 Aug, p 1)

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a ceremony in Karl-Marx-Stadt, commemorating the 44th anniversary of the death of Ernst Thaelmann, on 18 August. (19 Aug, p 1)

Egon Krenz attended the final meeting of the Eighth Pioneer Meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 20 August. (20 Aug, p 1)

Egon Krenz presented birthday congratulations to Klaus Sorgenicht, director of the State and Legal Affairs Department, on 24 August. (25 Aug, p 2)

Heinz Kessler, defense minister and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a concert by the FDJ symphony orchestra on 19 August. (20-21 Aug, p 1)

Heinz Kessler; Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Inge Lange, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; and Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended the final meeting of the Eighth Pioneer Meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 20 August. (20 Aug, p 1)

Erich Mielke, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Minister for State Security, attended the final meeting of the Eighth Pioneer Meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 20 August. (20 Aug, p 1)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, visited buildings constructed and renovated by citizens in Tettau/Senftenberg Kreis on 19 August. (20-21 Aug, p 2)

Werner Walde visited the VEB color glass works in Weiswasser on 24 August. (25 Aug, p 2)

More on Workers' Protest at Kner Printing Plant

Protest Continues

LD2908130688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Excerpts] We reported on Saturday that printers in the Gyomaendroed plant of the Kner Press protested with a 1-hour long work stoppage against the reinstitution of a director dismissed 6 months before. According to our information today's morning shift has not yet taken up work. Eva Cseh reports on the new developments:

[Cseh] The day promised to be a peaceful one at 0600 but at 0655 former director Gyula Lakatos appeared. [passage omitted]

On Thursday [25 Aug] the Bekes County Labor Tribunal reinstated Gyula Lakatos as director—albeit with a 30-percent wage reduction—and in protest against this, the printers in Gyoma suspended work for a few hours. Then at a workers' rally they decided at a secret ballot that owing to his actions, which were described as offensive to the moral sense of the collective, they were not willing to work with the former director. Therefore the director general sent Lakatos on temporary leave but Lakatos did not accept that. Thus this morning yet again two directors turned up at the Gyoma plant. The workers are now on strike because they do not accept this impossible situation. For them one director is enough, and moreover, Imre Szasz, who after having worked in the printing works for 22 years, is well-known, liked, and respected.

Gyula Lakatos was summoned to the headquarters in Bekescsaba by the director general this morning but it appears that so far no final decision has yet been made. Lakatos signed a declaration to go on a month-long holiday and after that to work in the headquarters for 3 months, and that during this time he would not visit the Gyoma plant.

Not long before the beginning of our broadcast the leaders of the state and social bodies of the county, Lajos Cs. Nagy, secretary general of the branch trade union, arrived, while director general Pal Haromszeki, was holding a workers' rally.

Meanwhile we have learned that the holding firm—the Bekescsaba Kner—workers, would, if necessary, start a solidarity strike in support of the printers in Gyoma.

Printers Resume Work; New Manager Reconfirmed

LD2908182188 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—As reported earlier, workers of the Gyomaendrod (south-east Hungary) unit of the Kner Press stopped work on Monday, following a one-hour work stoppage on Friday.

The work stoppage was of a personal nature. The manager of the press was relieved of his post early this year, and the directorate appointed a new manager. On Monday the former manager, referring to a decision of the Labour Court, once again wanted to take over leadership of the unit. The 120 workers of the shift protested by stopping the machines.

Talks began between the leadership of the Kner Press, the two managers and the workers, in the attendance of representatives of the county and village party organizations and the sectoral trade union.

The sides agreed five hours later. The printers resumed work and undertook to make up for the arrears. The company management, in agreement with the party and trade union organs, met the demand of the printers, reconfirmed the new manager in his post, and sent the former manager to leave. The company management is to ask the Supreme Court to revise the decision of the Labour Court.

Pecs Strike Blamed on Company Management

AU2608140488 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by Istvan Matko: "Underground Fire"]

[Text] Anyone who saw the television news report some 10 days ago (from the Pecs studio) was perhaps not surprised yesterday at the news of a miners' strike in Pecs.

We learned again from the aforementioned television program that the miners were dissatisfied with the situation and that the general manager was urging for the right to export and for "a long-term settlement of the mining issue."

Unfortunately, nothing was said in the report about the fact that this has already taken place, with a correct agreement achieved in spring this year together with the Mining Industry Trade Union. The essence of this agreement is that the responsibility to support the mining industry has been eliminated, and the long-term economic conditions for this sector have been determined. This, of course, includes an increase in the price of coal and a gradual elimination of subsidies. Following a comprehensive analysis, and taking into consideration the trade union's assertion of interests, the Committee for Planned Economy made its decision which finally led to a clear framework that is also acceptable for the mining industry, and the activity of mining enterprises can now be adjusted to this framework.

Is it possible that the idea of a retrial has, nevertheless, emerged? The radio announced that 150 miners had not taken up work in the Istvan pit of the Mecsek coal mines on 23 August. First of all, it is necessary to point out that

the reason behind this move is not the disorderly economic situation of this mining enterprise, but something totally different, as transpired from the reports. 1. The miners have strong grievances over the fact that those who are on sick pay earn more than those who actually work in the pit. 2. The amount paid as long-service bonus is smaller than last year because, according to the miners, taxes take away 30-40 percent of this bonus.

The event is thought-provoking for it shows that the government was right when, a few days ago, it pointed to the contradictions inherent in the current sick pay system.

It is another matter that a decision on this affair should have been made earlier and more resolutely.... (Of course, it is currently impossible to adjust wages to the higher level of sick pay, as there are no funds available for such a move.) In their own way, the miners have now voted for the original intention of the government. We can also say that they exercised a certain amount of criticism over the exaggerated one-sided argument. In other words, and this is also an important lesson of the affair in Pecs, in a difficult case it is always worth thoroughly examining whether the demands of the organizations that represent interests are in harmony with the interests of those they represent; that is, whether the trade unions are accurately conveying the interests of those they represent.

It is also worth pondering the fact that, for example, at the Tatabanya and Nograd mines, which also have plenty of economic difficulties, there were no grievances about the long-service bonus because the miners here did not receive less than last year. And the same occurred in Veszprem and in other mines.... How is this possible? Why did the miners in Pecs receive less? Because the amount of long-service bonus was miscalculated at Pecs, the amount was not grossed up, and so the administrative staff of this enterprise made a mistake. This has nothing to do with the economic management! It is absurd to raise this enterprise issue onto a national and governmental level. It is as if the government were called in to extinguish an underground fire.... According to our information, the banks have been providing the sums for long-service bonuses, and the government has not reduced, and does not intend to reduce the amount of fidelity bonuses. (The rules of long-service bonus payment are clear and simple.) We can sum up that the miners who carry out self-sacrificing work have all the rights to demand long-service bonuses stipulated by regulations. They deserve to be paid on time and with great responsibility. It is not only economically harmful if—who knows why—the enterprise is blaming people above instead of double checking its own books, as it did in this case.

The miners also gave voice to their concern about taxation. Again we should mention the previous intentions of the economic management, an intention it has repeatedly published: On the basis of the experiences of this year, it will review the taxation regulations and, if it is justified, it will also reexamine the limits of various tax breaks. The government is declaring all this again, totally independent from the financial management, and the government is open to proposals. The government finds it useful that, on the basis of the latest experiences, the miners themselves also report on the necessary changes. (Changes are definitely required by an inflation rate which is higher than planned. The correction will be decided by parliament, and not by the government.)

One last observation: We are learning about the coordination of interests. We can only welcome the fact that this entire debate was carried out in the open, and everyone can learn what others regard as important and why. However, some order would be welcome in the representation and assertion of interests. Think about the allowances. It would be expedient to set up a reasonable list of what to do, when, and how, in order to eliminate contradictions.

Politburo Meets 26 Aug on Romanian Invitation

LD2708121088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Correspondent Endre Aczel 27 August studio interview with Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Politburo]

[Text] [Aczel] Yesterday, a Politburo session was convened unexpectedly. How was this arranged? Did you receive a telephone call? [Nemeth] At about 5 o'clock [time as heard] on Thursday, the deputy head of the Central Committee Politburo phoned members of the Politburo to tell us that the Politburo would be holding an extraordinary meeting the following day.

[Aczel] Were you told the reason?

[Nemeth] I asked if the subject was known, because Karoly Grosz has managed to take a short break, a vacation, from his work program, after a long period of work. We all knew he was staying at Lake Balaton. So, in reply to my question, the deputy head of the Central Committee Politburo said that we had received a message from the Romanian leaders, and this in all certainty was bound to be the subject.

[Aczel] Without asking you for confidential details—although I would very much like to—I would like to ask you what the atmosphere of this Politburo meeting was like? And let me add another question: What did you discuss... whether we should go or not?

[Nemeth] The atmosphere at the Politburo session fit in with the type of atmosphere which has been developing, taking place, ever since the party conference. This means that members of the Politburo or Central Committee secretaries and guests attending the session spoke informally—in some sort of order, of course, but very frankly. They were able to, and did, express their opinions. There

are no obstacles or restrictions. It was a free debate, where the fundamental question primarily was what our answer should be: Should we accept or not accept the invitation. What will the advantages or disadvantages be? These were listed in concrete terms, by weighing domestic and foreign political considerations. What could have changed between the time the Romanian offer and our offer was made, inside and outside, in international politics. We had to prepare the suggestions we would be taking—what proposals we should have, and how we should present this to the party membership, to the public. We made calculations about the conduct and tasks we envisaged after the meeting—depending on its outcome—several options of which were considered.

[Aczel] How long did the session last?

[Nemeth] It began at 9 o'clock and, if my memory serves me right, it ended at about 2:30. [times as heard]

[Aczel] That means that the Hungarian public will receive exhaustive information, immediately, if possible, about Karoly Grosz's work in Arad.

[Nemeth] We agreed on this, and I think we proclaim and endeavor to exercise, as in other areas of life—smaller or bigger errors still creep in, of course—that we cannot and must not be secretive behind the people's backs on questions of decisive importance which are of interest to society or the party membership. So we wish to exercise complete openness in this area, as well, after the conclusion of the talks.

[Aczel] So the MSZMP would not even have contemplated keeping any agreement secret or confidential, or keeping the outcome of the negotiations secret from the public?

[Nemeth] No, this did not even come up in the debate. Everyone unequivocally supported the idea that we should move toward complete openness in this area as well.

[Aczel] Thank you.

Szuros Interviewed on Foreign Policy
AU2608102188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
20 Aug 88 p 5

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros by Istvan Zalais: "Interview with Matyas Szuros on Hungarian Foreign Policy"—date and place not given]

[Text] What are the main trends that characterize international politics today? Where is Hungary's place in the community of nations? Do we have new opportunities, and if we do, are we able to make use of them? Istvan Zalai, our foreign policy columnist, spoke with Matyas Szuros about these issues.

[Zalai] In your opinion, can we speak of a "second detente", or if you like, of the second phase of detente? If yes, what makes this second detente different from the first one?

[Szuros] My answer is a clear yes. The favorable changes under way in the world prove that the process of detente is gaining ground. It makes no difference whether we call it the second phase of detente or a "second detente." If you like, there was a great period at the beginning of the seventies which was crowned by the Helsinki Conference. This was followed by a decline, and now we are again witnessing another great opening, a decrease in tensions, and an improvement in East-West relations.

[Zalai] Can this development rely on certain foundations that have been in existence since the seventies?

[Szuros] Of course it can, because there has been no fundamental change in the power relations. However, as a result of new recognitions, there is a considerable difference between the previous and current phases of detente. I mean here primarily the process of renewal that is under way in the Soviet Union and in the socialist world, and the new foreign policy philosophy. But, taking realities into consideration, the Western alliance has also seriously recognized things.

The two leading great powers must draw certain consequences from the exaggerated arms race of previous years and from the price of this arms race. No doubt, given its economic structure and its nature, the Soviet Union has been more affected by this arms race, but it has also affected the U.S. economy. Another decisive recognition has gained ground, namely, the concept of mutual interdependence. In other words, it has been recognized that nobody can win a nuclear war. Starting from this recognition, the two sides reached the conclusion that they need defensive doctrines and a subsequent defensive military structure, rather than offensive military doctrines.

[Zalai] The balance of forces was recognized at the beginning of the seventies....

[Szuros] Yes, and now the two sides have recognized that we should prepare for survival. This is what adds to the previous phase, and the current phase promises to last longer, but, of course, one cannot totally exclude fluctuations in international life.

[Zalai] What effect have the recent increased attempts to solve local crises had on the world political atmosphere?

[Szuros] These attempts have a definitely positive effect. Eliminating the fiery hotbeds is inseparable from improving East-West relations, and at the same time it can also contribute to detente. One can clearly notice that the idea of national reconciliation is playing a great role in the efforts to settle local tensions, be it Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central America, or Namibia. The

Soviet Union and the new Soviet thinking played an important role in this new development. The Americans, as well as others, have also supported these initiatives; without this, no advance could be achieved. While we are already talking about this, let me mention that, although our interests are focused primarily on Europe, we do not want to isolate ourselves from other parts of the world, and the fact that Hungary is among the countries that have been asked to participate in monitoring the Iran-Iraq ceasefire is a sign of appreciation for our international position.

[Zalai] You have mentioned appreciation for our international position. How do you evaluate Hungary's international status, compared, for example, to the situation half a year ago?

[Szuros] No doubt, Hungary's international status and evaluation have become more favorable, primarily as a result of the strong policy of renewal and reform under way in the socialist world, including Hungary. Everything that has taken place in Hungary clearly drew the world's attention. However, our status has also improved because our foreign policy has been able to make use of the new opportunities inherent in detente.

[Zalai] Are there new points of emphasis in Hungarian foreign policy in the current, and in many respects new, international and domestic situation?

[Szuros] Yes, there are such points, because, in analyzing our own situation and the international circumstances, we are recognizing new realities and requirements. We are striving for even greater openness and publicity; we continue to accept and strengthen our country's role as some sort of bridge in East-West relations, and we also try to play a stabilizing role primarily in Europe.

All this derives from the growing recognition that countries and states are considerably interdependent, mutual dependence is increasing, and great issues that concern mankind are gaining ground. It has been recognized that it is expedient to stress the tasks deriving from mutual interdependence in relations between the two different social orders, because preserving peace, continuously providing the conditions and resources necessary for mankind's survival, and preserving these conditions are the main tasks today. I am glad that it was clearly formulated at a recent meeting in the Soviet Foreign Ministry that it is not correct to call the policy of peaceful coexistence a particular form of class struggle.

[Zalai] This means that, in the wake of increasing East-West contacts, not only will the "enemy image" change, but certain ideological issues, including the international elements of class struggle, will also demand a new approach?

[Szuros] Yes, we have to do away with certain dogmas. I would put it this way: International relations, of course, can and do have a class character, but not all such relations are of a class nature. Let us think of geographical factors, national characteristics, historically developed contacts, or of the sphere of human contacts and trade.

I recently held a very interesting dialogue with Cardinal Casaroli, who said that someone who feels he is weak tries to force his ideology on others. In Casaroli's view, too, there is an ideological rapprochment between the two social orders, because if we have an ideological debate or a dialogue in a civilized way, this in itself already means some sort of rapprochment.

We should not be surprised that we are starting from different philosophical positions and a different ideology. The correct approach is to mutually respect this difference and emphasize the practical factors of cooperation. The struggle between the two different social orders is no longer the decisive trend of our age—mutual understanding and cooperation should become the decisive trends of our age. We should live together, and not side by side, and compete for better solutions for peoples and for mankind. The overall human factor has become particularly important today, and therefore we cannot squeeze everything into the framework of class struggle. We do not give up our social goals, but in today's reality socialism must advance by means of its own example. We need a viable, modern, and democratic socialism, and we must make use of every experience to achieve this goal, including experiences deriving from the reform efforts of social democrats, be they Austrian, Finnish, French, or Italian examples.

[Zalai] But let us return to the new points of emphasis in Hungarian foreign policy as a result of these recognitions....

[Szuros] We have here, for example, the role of a bridge or a connection in the East-West relations, and this role should also be asserted in the sense that the development of cooperation with both East and West is equally important for us. Of course, there can be differences from a social policy and security policy viewpoint, because Hungary is a socialist country and a Warsaw Pact member state. However, it is also very important for Hungary, which is doing its utmost to modernize socialist integration, to adequately adjust to the Western European integration and to prepare for the period when a uniform domestic market will emerge in Western Europe beginning with 1992. By joining forces, we must strive to avoid the emergence of a closed Western European integration of 350 million people, and contribute to the emergence of a uniform European market of 850 million people, a market that would also give us opportunities to solve our domestic economic tasks and would generally advance the cause of European peace.

We attach great importance to the reduction of conventional arms, a move that has considerable security and economic significance. We are paying particular attention to humanitarian issues, human rights, including

national minority rights. Therefore, we have proposed the establishment of a separate committee to deal with these issues in the framework of the Warsaw Pact, because these issues make up a considerable proportion of international relations.

[Zalay] At the beginning of the seventies, there were many people who thought that improved relations between the big powers could reduce the role played by smaller countries in international politics. How do you see the role and opportunities of small countries, including Hungary, today, when we are witnessing a broadening Soviet-U.S. dialogue? To what extent can the foreign policy of a small country belonging to a military and political alliance be independent, or if you like, individual?

[Szuros] When talking about small countries, we must realize that the majority of the countries in the world are small and medium-sized.

In fact, one can say that, as a whole, international relations have become more democratic, and an increasing number of countries are now participating in shaping these relations. It is precisely these smaller countries that can play some sort of connecting and stabilizing role at a time when mankind's survival is at stake, and in certain cases, and under more tense circumstances, like at the beginning of the eighties.

Of course, in talking about small countries I do not mean only Hungary. But, talking about the socialist countries, we are now witnessing a situation in which, contrary to the previous periods, it is the Soviet Union itself that offers greater scope for the smaller countries and encourages them to carry out greater activity. This also means a change in the relations between socialist countries, because they will regard diversity as an advantage and not as a weakening of relations within their alliance system. As a result, individual countries are now able to exploit the opportunities inherent in certain historical relations, and to work out independent and constructive concepts on controversial issues, concepts that can contribute to the common cause.

[Zalai] The communique issued on the latest MSZMP Politburo meeting also mentioned this precisely in connection with the Warsaw Pact summit of July 1988, and said that genuine and regular consultations on fundamental issues and a democratic coordination of positions will contribute to the assertion of national and common interests. What does all this mean in practice?

[Szuros] We have already discussed this, and we came to the conclusion that common interests can derive from the totality of national interests and can be a synthesis of these national interests. This can be formulated in concrete cases. For example, at the latest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee we stressed that we were striving to make sure that, when the reduction of conventional forces and arms in Europe begins, in its first stage it will affect Hungary, including the domestic and foreign troops stationed in Hungary. This is simultaneously a Hungarian national interest and a common interest. Due to Hungary's international and strategic situation and circumstances, it would also be advantageous for the socialist community if this disarmament process were to begin here in Hungary. We played a pioneering role in establishing contacts with the EEC, and with this we contributed to the contacts between CEMA and the EEC.

[Zalai] Our joint proposal with the Finnish Social Democratic Party and the Italian Socialist Party is another example of our initiatives....

[Szuros] Yes, this proposal is a typical initiative of small and medium-sized countries, a proposal aimed at close cooperation among countries that do not possess nuclear arms. The goal is to avoid the spreading of nuclear arms and to contribute to reducing them. This proposal was welcomed in both the socialist world and at a broader level, but we continue to work on it, and when conditions allow we want to make it an all-European initiative. I can also mention our proposal aimed at setting up a continuous nuclear-free zone in Europe from the north to the south, and Hungary would join such a zone.

[Zalai] The increased shuttle diplomacy of recent months is a sign of our increased activity. MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz himself has made several important visits, and we know that the program for the coming months also promises to be quite intensive. What is the "yield" of these negotiations?

[Szuros] The main task of this kind of diplomacy is to help us solve our domestic tasks. This current activity is an extremely interesting phenomenon, because we thought that we could hardly exceed the foreign policy activity we carried out in 1984. In that year Hungary made great efforts to counterbalance the alienation in international relations. I would mention here the visits made by Kohl, Thatcher, and Craxi to Budapest, and Janos Kadar's trip to France, in other words, really strong diplomatic activity.

As for our current activity, this is a manifestation of the aforementioned greater openness connected with the new points of emphasis, and of the fact that we attribute great importance to building contacts with every country, on the basis of mutual respect and advantages. Considering the great amount of distrust still existing in East-West relations, a visit to the United States such as the one made by Karoly Grosz contributes to the modification of a traditional enemy image, the easing of distrust, and to detente. While the primary goal was to represent Hungarian national interests, this visit also increased the general confidence toward socialist countries. Thus, such negotiations and personal contacts are extremely important, in both an international political respect and in human relations.

The program promises to be intensive in the remaining period of this year. Karoly Grosz will pay a visit to the GDR next, and the coordination of his visit to France and Spain, a trip to Austria, and the preparation of a trip to a third world country are all on the agenda. Thus, the schedule of trips is quite balanced, and these trips are important, both politically and economically. Of course, the highest-level contacts primarily have political significance, but they also contribute to reaching concrete economic agreements.

[Zalai] A country's foreign policy cannot be separated from its domestic background. Does our difficult economic situation hinder our foreign policy activity?

[Szuros] No doubt, our economic problems, primarily our considerable debts, impair our international prestige and reputation. The intellectual activity and efforts for renewal that have now emerged in Hungary can also give great impetus to our foreign policy, but foreign policy cannot long be separated from the economic background and the domestic situation. By means of diplomatic activity and by developing cooperation we must facilitate the long-awaited change in our economy. Foreign policy also has an inertia of its own, and our international prestige derives from the fact that our reform policy is coupled with a firm foreign policy. However, a long-term successful foreign policy can only be based on a stable domestic situation and a stable economy.

[Zalai] New issues emerge in the relations between the socialist countries, too, or previous problems now appear in a new form. What did the latest Warsaw Pact meeting bring in this respect?

[Szuros] Mutual understanding, respect, and equal rights are increasing in the relations among socialist countries. Hungary's example also shows that scope for sovereignty is increasing. We are actively participating in initiating, preparing, and representing common concepts. It is no longer the practice that every initiative derives from the leading power in our alliance; there are now increasing possibilities for the other socialist countries to actively take a stand and assert their positions, and one could see this in Warsaw. At the same time, however, one could also see that there are differences between the socialist countries in essential issues and in the interpretation and practical implementation of foreign policy philosophy. Individual countries are like individual persons: There are people who are able to recognize new things earlier and act accordingly.

[Zalai] We have already talked about the proposals we made in Warsaw. Why do we consider it important to set up a special committee to deal with human rights and humanitarian issues?

[Szuros] This is connected with the development of democracy. We can make international relations more democratic only if these relations mean cooperation between democracies. Assertion of human dignity and of the right to freedom is a historical process that must also be reflected in international relations. Understandably, this particularly affects us Hungarians.

[Zalai] Today we are witnessing a greater openness among socialist countries in discussing existing problems, including, for example, the aforementioned issues. In your opinion, is this a result of the change in the situation of these countries, or a result of greater openness?

[Szuros] Both. In my view, the process of renewal under way in the socialist world reflects a logical necessity. This is inevitable and sooner or later every socialist country will advance on this road in one form or another. As for openness, we notice its spreading, but we have to speak to each other even more sincerely, because certain phenomena cannot be considered as the internal affairs of a given country.

[Zalai] Does that refer to Hungarian-Romanian relations? What does the Hungarian leadership intend to do in order to ease the increasing tension?

[Szuros] We continue to endeavor to restore the good-neighborly relations, but our efforts are not adequately reciprocated. We are making efforts to assert our desire to negotiate by means of international support, and to show that the issue here exceeds the relations between the two countries and nobody can remain silent. It is impossible to keep quiet and step aside when human rights are violated in such a way and to such an extent, and when people are suffering because of a certain policy.

We highly appreciate all that took place at the time of Petru Groza's government after 1945 in guaranteeing equal rights to national minorities, and when we started promisingly on the road of implementing the intentions accepted by the Romanian Government when it signed the Paris peace accords. It would mean a step forward if the conditions that emerged in the period of Petru Groza's government in Romania were to return. A large community like that of the Hungarian national minority in Romania is really entitled to personal, cultural, and territorial automony.

At the same time, we are striving to prepare for a period in the future when it will be possible to solve the difficult problems and to cooperate. We are extremely careful not to hurt the national feelings of the Romanian people in any way. We are against a policy and a practice that hurt not only the Hungarians, but also the Romanians and the other national minorities living in Romania, a policy that damages the prestige of socialism and which is already playing a destabilizing role on the international stage, and can lead to unforeseeable consequences.

What do we intend to do, in addition to what we are already doing? We will receive those people from various parties, parliaments, or other institutions and organizations who wish to visit Hungary and Romania to learn about the situation on the spot. We inform the Hungarian public about the financial assistance provided to the refugees by the Red Cross. And we wish to negotiate, as our general secretary and premier has offered. If it becomes inevitable, we will turn to international forums, too. As we see it, the Romanian side is endeavoring to limit and freeze relations, with the exception of economic relations where there are further unused possibilities.

Therefore, here we are talking simultaneously about self-respect, and about the need to negotiate in order to restore the good-neighborly relations. So far, our efforts have not met with an adequate response.

[Zalai] Has there been any Romanian reaction to the highest-level Hungarian declaration concerning the integrity of existing borders?

[Szuros] It is interesting that Bucharest is acting as if this did not catch its attention, and meanwhile its propaganda says that the Hungarians are in fact preparing for revenge and have territorial claims, and that they want to regain Transylvania. There are clear signs that the Romanians are determined to carry out the program of destroying villages and eliminating many villages.

We try to normalize relations by making use of bilateral opportunities, and we can say that international public opinion sympathizes with our position.

Grosz, Others Meet New Ambassador to Laos

LD1908201788 Budapest MTI in English
1515 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, met Alfred Almasi, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Lao People's Democratic Republic, who is soon to leave for his post.

Berecz Attends Vienna Dialogue Book Presentation

LD2208165988 Budapest MTI in English
1555 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—The second, Hungarian edition of the 'Dialogue of Opposites', a book published by the MTI Publishing House on the basis of the first edition issued by the Vienna-based Paul Neff Verlag and the Zurich-based Ferenczy Verlag, was presented for the press in Budapest on Monday. Present at the event was Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and a number of senior representatives of Hungary's political and cultural life.

Tibor Cseres, president of the Hungarian Writers' Union, recalled that the publication was an important document of the Vienna dialogue of two social democratic and two communist politicians on European cultural heritage in July 1985. Peter Glotz, executive of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD), Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, minister of culture of the GDR, Bela Kopeczi, Hungarian minister of culture and education, and Fred Sinowatz, federal chancellor of Austria [title as received], expounded their views on the place of their countries and the prospects of co-existence in Europe. The debate was led by writer Ivan Boldizsar and journalist Francois Bondy and the preface written by Willy Brandt.

The president of the Hungarian Writers' Union held it important to involve other regions of Europe in the dialogue. Hungarian writer Ivan Boldizsar proposed to extend the range of topics. The survey of European cultural heritage paved the way for another European dialogue, he said.

Josef von Ferenczy, who initiated the Vienna dialogue, held it necesary to involve first the neighbouring countries and then the politicians of other European countries. Italy, Switzerland, Spain and perhaps Yugoslavia would probably take part in the dialogue he said, and proposed to discuss economic and environmental issues.

Occupation of Gdansk Port Sectors Continues

LD2908162088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] The situation at the strikebound enterprises in Gdansk has not changed significantly today. The occupation of the gates at three shipyards and two sectors of the merchant marine port goes on. This morning our reporter accompanied the employees of the Gdansk merchant marine port on their way to work in Sector One. A group of strikers picketing the wharf prevented the mooring of a ship and transloading work. There are 24 ships at the port and in the roads. Transloading work is going on aboard eight of these. Sector Two and Three of the Gdansk port worked normally.

Szczecin Port, Bus Strike Situation Unchanged

LD3008092888 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Excerpt] The situation in Szczecin port and the Szczecin-Dabie bus depot is unchanged. Talks between the managements and the striking workforces, which have taken place several times over recent days, did not bring the expected results. The reason is the stance of the strike committees, which bring to the forefront not economic and social but political positions. [passage omitted]

Port Strike Damaging Business

LD2908172388 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 29 Aug 88

["Lost Cargoes, Lost Confidence"—PAP headline]

[Text] Szczecin, Aug 29—The Szczecin branch of the Zegluga na Odrze (Shipping on the Odra) enterprise usually implements over 80 per cent of export orders of this enterprise.

But the illegal strike in the port of Szczecin stopped 59 barges with various cargoes for foreign contracting parties. Now, the firm does not deliver either supplies of coal for a group of power plants in West Berlin or a similar contract for power plants in the FRG. The transports of other goods were also halted.

Transit Shipments Affected

LD2908165388 Warsaw PAP in English 1622 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 29—The Hartwig international shipping enterprise in Szczecin, which is responsible for executing transit agreements, has been forced by the strike in the Szczecin port to seek alternative solutions. It resumed transit shipping of iron ore without resorting to handling in the Szczecin port.

The first ship from the Sweden-Poland-Austria transit bridge, the "Kopalnia Miechowice" of the Polish Steamship Company carrying iron ore for Austria today was directed to the quay of the "Szczecin" steelworks. There it will be unloaded by the mill's equipment and loaded onto railway wagons.

Losses Exceed Z1.2 Billion

LD2908162388 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] The strike at the port of Szczecin is in its 13th day. Losses by now are estimated at more than Z1.2 billion. Enterprises cooperating with the port are also suffering losses. Fourteen ships under various flags are waiting at the wharves.

The management of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise (WPKM) is continuing attempts to start talks with the strikers occupying the bus depot in Szczecin-Dabie. Today Szczecin's municipal transport routes are being serviced by 95 tram trains and some 110 busses.

Enterprise Appeals to Port Workers

LD2908185888 Warsaw PAP in English 1748 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug, 29—The strike by part of the crew of the port of Szczecin is a vital question for the port's contracting parties using its services. In a telex sent to the port's employees' council by the chairman of the employees' council of the Miflex crew asked for help in a pretty dramatic situation: [as received]

"The Wejherowo ship with the cargo of 10 tonnes of polyester foil from the Dupont firm for our plant has been lying off for several days. The absence of this raw material prevents us from ensuring work for over 500 workers of the factory and blocks the production worth about 500 million zlotys. The situation is dramatic and we cordially ask you to help us and take steps to swiftly unload the ship," said the message.

Dabie Bus Strike Talks Set for 30 Aug

LD2908155588 Szczecin Domestic Service Network in Polish 1500 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Here is the text of a communique [as heard] we received a few minutes ago:

In association with the prolonging of the Dabie bus depot strike, the economic situation at the enterprise is worsening from day to day. This increasingly limits the possibility of an improvement in the economic and welfare situation of the enterprise. The effects of the strike are being felt by all Szczecin agglomeration inhabitants.

The leadership of the strike in Dabie continues not to agree to undertake talks on economic and organizational subjects, thus giving proof of a desire to extend the current situation, and of the politicisation of the character of the strikes. We cannot, as a trade union [as heard], express agreement for such a state of affairs that will in the final effect strike at the interests of the whole workforce, especially those currently working.

The committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Workers [NSZZ] of the voivodship urban transport enterprise at its session on 29 August 1988, directed by the interests of the workforce and the inhabitants of Szczecin, and also the assurance of the director as to the constant readiness to undertake talks, calls on the management and the workers' council of the enterprise to undertake immediate talks on all economic and organizational subjects relating to the Dabie enterprise workforce. We also favor participation in the talks by the representatives of the currently working labor force not affiliated to the union. We demand the urgent consideration of our proposal. We propose the talks start in the morning of 30 August 1988.

[Signed] Marian Kowalewski, for the NSZZ committee of the Dabie enterprise.

The director of the enterprise, Andrzej Anczykowski, made a decision that these talks, in the presence of representatives of the workers' council and representatives of the labor force not affiliated to the trade union, will commence tomorrow at 0800.

The talks will consider the most urgent problems related to the organizational and economics of the workforce and the enterprise.

Strike Representative on Situation

LD2908200088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin. There are no changes at the port. Yesterday evening, the management once again started talks in response to an appeal from the strikers. However, the talks broke down due to the strike committee's decision to make stopping the strike dependent on the position of the Gdansk Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS). There are no changes at the Szczecin-Dabie bus depot either.

[Begin recording] [Andrzej Kudla, a driver of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise and representative of the strike committee, identified by caption] For today, the situation is as follows: Both representatives of management and of strikers, are demonstrating great determination for talks for the speediest-possible ending of the conflict.

[Unidentified correspondent] When is the possibility of the end of the strikes going to be in sight?

[Kudla] We would like this to happen as soon as possible, and we think that it can end in the very near future. [end recording]

Stalowa Wola Strike Persists Into 9th Day

Parts of Mill Still Affected

LD2908110788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] We have just received a report from our Rzeszow reporter Andrzej Banczyszyn on the situation in the Stalowa Wola steelworks.

The Stalowa Wola management adopted a decision to resume work today in departments of the steelworks. This morning, almost the entire workforce reported for work on the first shift. In the steel foundry work has been resumed by all departments with the exception of the ductile cast iron foundry department which is occupied by strikers. In the mechanical department, workers on five sections did not resume work, and one repair department is still under occupation.

Considerable activity by the group which leads the strike has been observed. Entry to the steelworks at No 3 gate is being obstructed by the strikers. Employees entering the steelworks were encouraged to join the strike. Workers were not allowed into occupied departments.

Clearly feeling among strike organizers has become more radical. On Sunday night representatives leading the strike were allowed contact with the Polish Episcopate. There has been an escalation of strike activity by its organizers. They have made active steps aimed at increasing the scope of the strike. Groups of strikers are forcing their way to working departments to prevent their operation. Devotion of supervision, management, and social activity should be recognized in organizing work in steelworks departments. This communique was delivered by Andrzej Wolanski, the press spokesman of Stalowa Wola steelworks.

1,500 in 1st Shift Strike

LD2908211488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] At the Stalowa Wola steelworks, out of 12,500 employed on the first shift, around 1,500 people took part in the strike.

Strike Action 'Growing'

LD2908181188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Our Rzeszow reporter Tadeusz Seroka today visited the Stalowa Wola steelworks today. Here is his report:

[Seroka] Two hours ago I came back from Stalowa Wola without bringing good news from there.

Strike action at the combine is growing. One of the main entrance gates, Gate 3, is still being occupied, with groups of strikers and ordinary passers-by gathering on both sides. Hymns are being sung. A significant number of the combine's departments is being occupied. The work of the engineering works is to all intents and purposes paralyzed. Among others three gearbox departments, the ductile cast iron foundry, the drop forge, the tool shop, and other departments are at a standstill. Work at the steel plant and the rolling mill in the steelworks is maintained not without difficulty.

The strikers have seized a significant part of the combine's grounds. They control the enterprise's internal roads and check the documents of nonstriking persons in transit along these. They are also checking their document cases and handbags. During the day attempts were made to seize more departments. Some of them succeeded. But attempts to start a strike and a sit-in at the transport department, which would have in practice meant bringing the whole combine to a standstill, failed despite the use of pressure and (?other means).

So far the strikers have not presented the management of the enterprise with any demands whatsoever of economic or intraenterprise nature. Their only demand concerns the legalization of Solidarity.

Let us recall that the management of the Stalowa Wola combine decided to resume operations from today, despite a persisting strike, after the suspension of its activity last week. Presumably one of the causes for the decision was the fact that the value of production sold daily by this industrial giant amounts to about Z0.5 billion. Today it is still difficult to say what losses the strike of a significant part of it is going to bring but they will certainly be enormous.

The works public address system is broadcasting statements and appeals from the combine's director general which remind the workers that no wages will be paid for the participation in the unlawful strike. The director is appealing for common sense and an end to the expansion of the strike action which could lead to the combine, which is in a good financial state, finding itself on the brink of bankruptcy. The strikes will certainly reduce the range and amount of pay rises which have been planned since July.

Officials Appeals to Workers

LD3008110588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] Over to Rzeszow for a strike report.

[Unidentified correspondent] The strike at the Stalowa Wola steelworks is into its 9th day. As from yesterday there have been no significant changes at the combine. Appeals by the management not to increase the huge losses which are growing hour by hour because of the strike—these losses might lead to the combine becoming unprofitable—have had no effect. Despite appeals and objective arguments, one of the combine's two main shops, the machine shop, is not working. The spheroidal iron foundry [odlewnia zeliwa sferoidalnego] is not operating in the iron and the steel shop. The work of the steel mill and rolling mill is being maintained only with difficulty.

A representative of the Polish Episcopate, lawyer Jacek Ambroziak spent the night in Stalowa Wola. In the presence of a management representative he talked to the strikers. Ambroziak reported that the demand for the legalization of Solidarity would be presented at the roundtable discussions proposed by General Kiszczak [minister of internal affairs], irrespective of whether Stalowa Wola workers are on strike or not. He also drew attention to the fact that the strike at a defense industry establishment is having negative consequences for the defense capability of not only Poland, but also of the remaining Warsaw Pact states. In this situation, the representative of the Polish Episcopate said, the decision on ending the strike rests on those staging it.

'July Manifesto' Mine Situation

LD2908175388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Excerpt] After the ending of strikes in the Jastrzebie and "30 Years of the Polish People's Republic" mines, only the "July Manifesto" mine has not started work up to now. Here is a telephone report from Andrzej Ochotek: [passage omitted] The "July Manifesto" mine is still not working. The constantly shrinking group of strikers, of whom there are at the moment not many more than [word indistinct], continues to block the entrance to the enterprise. Today before the second shift, those workers who wanted to go down to ensure safety were held back. Talks, with breaks, have been continuing here between the strike committee and the management from 1030. The manager wants to talk to representatives of the workforce, excluding from the talks participants from outside the mine—the so-called advisers. They constitute at the moment almost one quarter of the strikers. In the Jastrzebia mine, around 1,000 miners went down on the second shift, which is the same as usual. the startup of certain faces and the removal of damage is in progress.

Talks at Jastrzebie Mine Break Up

LD2908155488 Warsaw PAP in English 1528 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 29—A meeting between representatives of the strike committee and the mine's management started at the "Manifest Lipcowy" ["July Manifesto"] mine in Jastrzebie, Southern Poland, at 13.45 hrs today with a view to discussing a list of postulates related to the functioning of the colliery.

In view of the impossibility of reaching an agreement on several disputable issues talks were broken after 20 minutes and suggested to resume at 19.00 hrs tonight.

Jastrzebie Talks To Resume

LD2908224888 Warsaw PAP in English 2222 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 30—An illegal strike in the "Manifest Lopcowy" ["July Manifesto"] mine in Jastrzebie has been going on for 14 days now. A 150-strong group of miners and their leaders continues to effectively hinder the work of the 9,000-member crew. Due to protracting stoppage of the mine, Poland's economy has already lost some 160,000 tonnes of export coal and with every next day the losses grow by another 12,200 tonnes. Unfortunately, it is still impossible to find a way out from the conflict, in the purely economic and non-political character of which nobody seems to believe any more.

Talks were discontinued after 20 minutes today in face of mutual charges and inability to reach an agreement as to the first three questions filed, i.e. remunerations for the period of the strike, reinstatement to work all those dismissed for an earlier activity and restoration of the Solidarnosc inscriptions on the monument commemorating the signing of the Jastrzebie agreements and on the monument to Saint Barbara, the patron of miners in one of the mine's departments.

Another round, started with one hour delay, also ended in a fiasco. Due to the lack of chances for reaching a compromise today the talks will be resumed tomorrow at 8 a.m.

Jastrzebie Mine Talks Postponed

LD3008092488 Warsaw PAP in English 0810 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 30—The wildcat strike continues at the "Manifest Lipcowy" ["July Manifesto"] colliery in Jastrzebie. In the face of inability to find a "common tongue", the talks between pit's management and the strike committee are not held now. The wait-and-see attitude persists. Only necessary preventive work is being carried out in the mine.

Coalmine Strike Scene Update

LD3008114188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Excerpts] The hard-coal mining losses suffered as a result of strikes will be exceptionally difficult to make up. [passage omitted]

Today, at the Jastrzebie mine, the same number of miners as usual—about 1,800—are working on the first shift. At the "30 Years of the Polish People's Republic" mine, where the greatest danger of explosion and fire exists, it is already known that the W2 coal face will not be worked for several months. Yesterday, the area of fire was finally closed off by four fire breaks made by controlled explosions. Today, everyone is working at this mine on the first shift, just as on any normal day. Intensive work is in progress aimed at the speediest possible achievement of the maximum possible level of extraction.

The strike in the "July Manifesto" mine is continuing. The miners, and persons not connected with the enterprise, who are occupying the mine gates, allowed only 130 workers into the mine to conduct—albeit to a minimal degree—safety work.

Further TRYBUNA LUDU Coverage on Mine Strikes

Prosecutors Issue Summonses

AU3008114888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Summonses to Prosecutor's Offices for Strike Organizers"]

[Text] The regional prosecutors in Jastrzebie-Zdroj, Rybnik, Wodzislaw Slaski, Myslowice, and Tarnowskie Gory are continuing their investigations into the illegal coalmine strikes. They have established the names of the leaders and gathered evidence that justifies further court proceedings.

On 24 August, the prosecutors issued summonses for these people to appear before the relevant local prosecutors for interrogation, under suspicion of having committed offenses under article 54 of the law on trade unions. These summonses were received by strike organizers in the following mines: "Andaluzja," "ZMP," "Krupinski," "Marcel," "1 May," "Moszczenica," "Jastrzebie," "Morcinek," "July Manifesto," "and "Lenin."

At the same time, investigations into other events connected with the strikes and involving offenses against life, personal freedom, and property are under way. The persons responsible for these offenses and the resultant damage are in the process of discovery.

Violence Against Strikers Denied

AU2908155388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—At his 24 August press conference at the St. Brygida Church in Gdansk, Tadeusz Mazowiecki declared to the Western journalists: We have encountered the militia's intervention in Walbrzych, which indicates an effort toward confrontation.

In response, Adam Barsznicz, deputy technical manager of the Walbrzych Lower Silesia Mining Association, said: It is necessary to categorically deny the rumors and

insinuations that the calm in the mines in which standstills occurred previously, has been restored by the use of force by the militia and by its fight against the strikers. All Walbrzych mines have been in normal production as of 24 August.

Situation in 'July Manifesto' Mine

AU2908151288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 88 p 2

[Tomasz Szymanski dispatch: "In the 'July Manifesto' Mine—Going Down at Strikers' Bidding"]

[Text] In the morning everyone was stunned by the statement that strikers would sharpen the forms of their protest and that every non-striking worker entering the mine to resume work would not be able to leave the mine. Either they join the strikers or....

We could see for ourselves what that "or" meant, because a wheel barrow bearing the inscription "Taxi—the strike instrument for democratically expressing one's will" was in position nearby. The atmosphere was clearly getting worse. The above statement was issued before 0700, that is, when the first shift was already at work.

Over 220 miners went down the shaft to make the mine ready for production as they do every day.

It was they who called up management and control officers: Is this true? Let them as much as touch me....

The local broadcasting system announced: "We have been informed that the "Lenin" mine, one of the biggest ones, lifted the illegal strike and began to work. Yesterday's television newscast showed the end of the "Andaluzja" strike and how Kazimierz Switon, the known Solidarity activist, violently and offensively attacked the miners who were bold enough to determine their own fate. Draw conclusions from that, please.

"We realize that most of you are on illegal strike under the pressure of the people who are dreaming of taking over power and of gaining benefits. You should think over the the sense of continuing the strike, which harms the mine. Please stop escalating your demands and end the strike. Do not let yourselves be manipulated by people to whom your fate is completely indifferent. When the strike is over, they will leave you, and you will be left alone with your problems and those of the mine."

A single whistle.... It seems that the strike leaders did not reckon with such a response. Tadeusz Jedynak grabbed the microphone and intoned the Rota song with a new Solidarity text. Only few workers sang with him.

Only some dozens of workers began to chant Solidarnosc, Solidarnosc, when someone shouted Solidarnosc....

After a while, loudspeakers repeated the appeal to end the strike. The strikers lost their nerve, and one of them climbed the roof and disconnected (cut off?) the cables.

I asked Grzegorz Stawski, the "spokesman" of strikers, to clarify that morning statement. Will men be stopped by force? He said he was unable to give me any detailed information, because consultations would be held. For 2 hours I watched small groups of workers engaged in hefty discussions. I could hear some one say: And if they want to leave the mine by force...?

Several hundred miners arrived for work at the mine, and it was clear that things could become hot at 1400.

Nervous tension. At last we heard the statement made by the Strike Committee that from among the underground workers only fire-detecting workers would be able to come and go as they please and that this freedom of movement would also apply to to firemen, rescue workers, and power station workers. Fire-detecting workers were instructed to present reports on the condition of the mine to the strike committee so that, in cooperation with the head engineers from the mine's individual departments of management, decisions would be made on the scope of necessary work and on the number of workers allowed to work. Miners, whose presence in the mine is considered necessary by management but not by the strike committee, would be admitted into the mine, but would not be allowed to leave.

It was still uncertain whether this would apply to the miners on the first shift. We were waiting with bated breath.

At last workers began leaving the mine, and no one tried to stop them. This was common sense or perhaps the fear that the "decision" to stop leaving workers could not be executed because of the inadequate strength of strikers.

Second shift workers knew already about the strikers' decision, and some of them entered the mine saying "just let anyone touch me when I leave the mine," but others hesitated: "What if they stop me?" "Then you will jump the fence," someone replied. "But I have worked here for 18 years and have never had to jump over the fence."

My eyes ranged over the mine's yard, but I could no longer see that wheelbarrow. It disappeared.

About 100 miners were admitted into the mine—fewer than asked for by management—because they were the absolute minimum necessary to keep the mine ready for production. While waiting at the gates, I heard the radio announcement that the Borynia coalmine strike was over. I talked with the "July Manifesto" mine strikers and was told that some of their colleagues had defected home when they heard that news.

The second shift miners (those whom strikers allowed to work) left the mine without being harassed by strikers.

Late at night I heard that the "Morcinek" mine in Kaszyce ceased to strike. How will things shape tomorrow?

Bialystok Factory on 'Strike Alert'

LD2908185988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] A strike alert has been in progress at the attachments and fixtures factory in Bialystok since last Wednesday. A number of demands—from pay and welfare to political—have been put forward. The work force has not stopped working.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr Tadeusz Rostworowski is a member of the strike committee. Today the director presented you with his answers to your demands. How (?do you respond to these)?

[Rostworowski] Well, right now it's a bit difficult to say in detail. We have not had enough time to...

[Reporter, interrupting]...analyze...

[Rostworowski, interrupting]...analyze every single demand in detail. Nevertheless, some of the demands have been dealt with straight away, some are supposed to be dealt with within a certain time, but a number of the demands, according to the works director, are supposed to be sorted out (?at some unspecified time in the future) which we are certainly not going to be happy about.

[Reporter] These demands only concern matters of the enterprise?

[Rostworowski] Only matters of the enterprise. Anyway, the director has already promised us, the entire workforce, at a rally, that matters concerning the work enterprise are going to be realized here, while matters which do not concern the enterprise director are going to be forwarded to the appropriate bodies.

[Reporter] What is your present attitude, seeing as you are satisifed with some of the answeers to your demands?

[Rostworowski] I am sure we will reach agreement with management, and some undertakings are going to come out of this. We have a dynamic employees' council and if some remote dates are going to be involved, not wishing to maintain the strike alert indefinitely, we are going to pass these demands onto the employees' council and oblige them to get things done by a certain time.

[Reporter] You are meeting the director tomorrow?

[Rostworowski] Yes, of course we are meeting the director tomorrow. We are going to continue (?working) on our affairs. [end recording]

[Announcer] This interview (?shows) that wherever the sides show good will and honest [words indistinct] it is possible to reach agreement. That's how it is in Bialystok. That's how it was in several other work enterprises which ended their strikes earlier.

'Abridged' Resolution on Reform Issues

LD2908215788 Warsaw PAP in English 1957 GMT 29 Aug 88

["8th PUWP CC Plenum Resolution (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP] confirms the will of continuing socialist renewal, reforms of the economy, democratization and conciliation. Required is greater consistency leading to a radical acceleration of the transformations. The goals specified during the 6th and 7th plenums must be realized in full.

The Central Committee, stressing the unfavourable development of the socio-economic situation, states that the source of the failures and the resulting dissatisfaction are not only objective difficulties but also the lack of effectiveness in the implementation of the reforms. The unsuccessful price-income operation contributed to the disorganization of the market, the increase of inflation and unjustified income disparity. Socially perceptible results of the struggle with bureaucracy, incompetence and protractedness in the solving of swollen social problems have not been achieved.

Taking advantage of the growing social irritation the organizers of illegal strikes led to a standstill of production in a dozen-or-so enterprises. Great social and material losses arose. Irrespective of the motivation leading the strikers this form of protest has a destructive character. Abidance by the law is and must be the foundation of the state. The Central Committee decisively opposes the attempts of destabilizing the life of the country and imparing the policy of conciliation, it decisively condemns the inspirators and organizers of illegal strikes.

The Central Committee approves the evaluations and goals specified in the Political Bureau's reports and the PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski's final address and expresses its support for the policy directions and actions presented and proposed by him.

The Central Committee states that currently the most important goal is the mobilization of all forces and means with the aim of improving market supplies and the arresting of price increases, the combatting of the threats to the population's living conditions. The realization of the decisions of the 7th plenum must be accelerated.

The Central Committee advises the Council of Ministers to immediately introduce corrections in the mechanisms of shaping incomes and prices which would counteract

the inflationary tendencies and strengthen the economic motivation to the acceleration of market production and services. A further reduction of budgetary expenditure and an increase of financial discipline in all the links of the economy is also indispensable.

The Central Committee regards as indispensable the preparation until this November 30th of a plan on consolidation of the national economy for the years 1989-1990.

The Central Committee confirms its attitude towards the economic reform. Its basic principles adopted by the 9th PUWP Congress are irrefutable. Correct are also the main assumptions of its second stage. However, necessary is the speedy carrying out of indisensable modifications and a change of concrete systemic solutions which failed to stand up in practice. Necessary is also the giving of a wide realizational momentum to the process of reforms.

The Central Committee holds the opinion that, in connection with work on the consolidation plan, during the next three months the Council of Ministers should:

—Undertake decisions concerning the changes and modification of the financial system of enterprises, the motivation system, the price system and other systemic solutions,

—Induce elimination of redundant regulations and simplication of the legal system with the aim of truly opening the way for the development of initiatives and economic activity in all sectors of the economy in accordance with social needs and principles of the reform,

—Eliminate the intermediate links in the organization of management which are not justified in conditions of the economic reform,

—Radically accelerate the process of the elimination and bankruptcy of permanently economically ineffective units,

—Introduce the principle of personal responsibility of leading cadres of state, central and local administration for the hindering and arresting, as well as the lack of sufficient activeness in the practical realization of the reform in a given sector.

The Central Committee confirms the will of continuing the democratic transformations in Polish political life, the development of citizens' freedoms and the strengthening of law-abidingness. As the most pressing, all-national political goal, the Central Committee regards the establishment of a wide coalition of pro-reformational forces, cooperation between all those who see the need to and want to actively participate in the act of transformations. The committee expresses the conviction that the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church, characterized by a sense of responsibility for the state of the nation's and state's affairs, will contribute to the development of this alliance.

The Central Committee:

First—gives its support to the initiative of establishing, on a wide socio-political base, a national conciliation council which—utilizing the experiences and achievements of the president of the Council of State's Consultative Council—could become a forum for work on a joint election platform to the future Sejm, assumptions of the new ordinance on the basis of which the 10th Sejm will be elected, as well as on the working out an agreed formula of social representation in our parliament. The council, receiving powers from the Sejm, could review the issue of the second chamber of parliament, the creation of the office of the president of the people's republic and proposals of other reforms within the organs of state.

Second—it shares the view expressed in the statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Law-abidingness, Public Order and Discipline on the issue of the immediate beginning of talks with representatives of various social and employee groups.

Third—expresses firm support for the re-born Polish trade unions, the will of strengthening their role as the defender of the professional and welfare interests of employees, the widening of the guarantee of their partnerly relations with the state and economic administration.

Fourth—regards as necessary the further strengthening of employee's self-managements.

Fifth—deems that the self-management of higher schools and especially that of students should be strengthened, that greater possibilities for the development of their independent scientific and social activity should be created, that the right to association of students should be widened.

Sixth—critically, harshly evaluates the hitherto actions aimed at improving the functioning of public services, the limiting and elimination of bureaucracy, the insensate attitude to people and their matters. It demands the quick conclusion of the reform of local state administration organs.

The Central Committee puts the Political Bureau, the PUWP deputies' floor group, party organizations and party authorities, and the party's control organs under the obligations to efficiently and rigorously exact the personal responsibility of party members at all work posts for the full realization of the tasks given to them.

Urban, Walesa Address Issue of Roundtable Meet

'Many People' To Attend

LD3008122688 Warsaw PAP in English
1157 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—The so-called round table talks will be chaired by Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak on the part of the government, Urban reaffirmed while asked by newsmen at a conference today.

The Polish Government spokesman also added that the idea of the "round table" permits participation of many people, and this will probably be the case this time.

It can be expected that Lech Walesa will also attend a "round table" meeting, Urban told newsmen.

The ending of the strike by Lech Walesa and the shipyard he works for would automatically mean the calling of a "round table" meeting, the Polish Government spokesman said.

Walesa Reiterates Readiness

LD2908113388 Hamburg DPA in German
1115 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—Workers' leader Lech Walesa today showed his willingness for negotiations and compromises. In an initial comment on the Central Committee resolutions, he said at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk: "Both sides will have to give way. But we cannot sell out Solidarity. If it comes to negotiations then there will also be a need for compromises."

"We have got to help Poland," Walesa said. "I am prepared to sit down with everybody and discuss everything." He is now waiting for somebody to tell him "the table has been prepared. We are waiting for negotiations." How this body is called is unimportant. Walesa confirmed that contacts with the political leadership via a third party continued also at the weekend during the Central Committee meeting in Warsaw.

Today Solidarity adviser Bronislaw Geremek and a member of the Consultative Council, lawyer Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, were in Gdansk. Both have had talks with the political leadership recently. Walesa was today among the striking workers in the Lenin Shipyard.

Officials Comment of Strike Situation

Colonel on Defense Industry Strikes

LD2908192788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] [Announcer] We turn now to Colonel Mieczyslaw Laskowski, secretary of the Council of Ministers Defense Industries Committee. We asked him for a brief comment on the situation in the Stalowa Wola steelworks and the Northern shipyard.

Colonel, production has stopped in these enterprises. Please tell us what the effects of this are.

[Laskowski] We should begin with this: Both the Stalowa Wola steelworks and the Northern shipyard are defense industries. A significant number of their products are produced for the Polish Army and the allied armies of the Warsaw treaty states. It is, therefore, quite obvious that the strikes by a small part of the workforce are disorganizing production and are contrary to the interests of state security.

[Announcer] What then is the legal situation concerning collective disputes in this type of enterprise?

[Laskowski] This type of enterprise operates on the basis of special regulations. Its status is as a defense industry enterprise. This is well known by the workers. Every worker is personally told this and acknowledges it with his own signature on a document. One of the rules contained in this document is a ban on all strikes. This rule is also based on the trade union law. It should be added that other countries—including in the West—have similar agreements. The managements of both enterprises have advanced many initiatives to solve problems. The strikes at these enterprises, therefore, cannot be tolerated forever.

Labor Minister's Statement

LD2908211688 Warsaw PAP in English
2008 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Poland's minister of labour and social policy has issued a statement saying that the illegal strikes which have been going on in several enterprises for many days pose a serious danger to the normal functioning of the economy and the state.

The striking minority of workers is reported to hinder the resumption of work by the majority of crews. Rational arguments and conditions created in the enterprises for an early and conciliatory end to the illegal strikes have brought no result. If the employees participating in the illegal strikes fail to resume work till August 31 this year, the managers of the enterprises concerned ought to apply towards them the measures and sanctions permitted by the law which concern professional liability, including immediate dismissal by fault of the employee (under the labour code).

Rakowski Briefs Socialist Press on Plenary

LD2908222088 Warsaw PAP in English
1708 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Political Bureau member and PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC secretary, met today with the socialist countries' embassies press attaches and press, radio and TV correspondents, accredited here, to brief them on the results and importance of the 8th PUWP CC plenary session.

The meeting was chaired by deputy head of the PUWP CC Propaganda Department Jan Bisztyga.

Notes 'Revolutionary Significance'

LD2908234588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2007 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen: This evening on the "Close-up" [Zblizenia] program our guest is Mieczylsaw Rakowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. We will be talking about the Eighth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee that ended yesterday. Mr Secretary, what would you say to a reflection that the main result of the eighth plenum is the confirmation of the correctness of the decision of the sixth and seventh plenums and also the drawing of attention to the fact that it is appropriate to consistently implement them?

[Rakowski] Within this question there hides a certain disappointment, or criticism, that the plenum did not come forth with some revolutionary proposals.

[Announcer] To a certain extent, yes.

[Rakowski] It seems to me that this reproach is unjust, if someone expected some revolutionary events, since our party's line is really unambigously specified at the 10th congress, (?confirmed) during plenary sessions of the Central Committee, enriched after all for strategic or practical reasons, and that is how it happens in every political party. It is difficult to expect a political party to periodically come out with completely new ideas.

[Announcer] I am not thinking of a forsaking of the line hitherto, but I am thinking: if only elements such as the comrade secretary himself proposed were brought into the resolution. For instance, the specification of the [word indistinct] responsible for the implementation of (?these) matters, so that this activity would be really, clearly accountable and clearly effective.

[Rakowski] Yes, of course I support such activity, and I judge that this will be added to the resolution as the Politburo has been authorized a final, final editing of this resolution. But let's return to the eighth plenum. In my opinion, it is clearly not possible to say that this plenum has a revolutionary significance. It really confirms the line which was drawn at the sixth and seventh plenums. Nevertheless, it is after all significant that the session confirms this and in any case develops it in a moment, in a specified political situation. I would say that is what the value of this latest plenary session, the eighth, rests on. The political situation was and is known to us. We do not have to talk about it after all. In precisely such a situation this final speech of General Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee takes on a different meaning than if it were given, for instance, in another political situation.

I personally attach great significance to this plenum from the point of view of the specification of the policy of the party leadership, I am thinking here, above all, of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Central Committee Secretariat. In political life these sorts of declarations, in a specified situation, very often take on special and important meaning. That is precisely how I see all these accents, formulations, that were contained in Comrade Jaruzelski's speech. I feel that if, for instance, the plenum stated that it is appropriate to continue this line which was (?declared) or else presented at previous plenary meetings, then this is of very important significance for the party.

The Political situation that has formed in Poland over the last 2 weeks could, after all, have led to various conclusions. For instance, it could have led to the conclusion that not a step further or else that we will here demonstrate most probably some attitude that flows from a feeling of strength. Meanwhile, as you know, the resolution document—you after all have a draft here—was accepted as was Comrade Jaruzelski's speech. I would say that in this situation also the party continues to open itself to further efforts toward broadening the idea of national accord. It extends a hand to all those who stand upon the ground of the constitution, who want really to participate in repairing the Republic. In a word, if I were to specify the essence of this plenum. I would say that it widens the platform of national accord. It attests to the party's receptiveness to new ideas and new people.

[Announcer] It gives the lie to those who said that in order to implement the reform consistently, an end should be put to democracy, since there have also been voices of that kind.

[Rakowski] Of course, because... [changes thought] although I am not surprised that there have been such voices. I think that we are still living at a time of great confusion, a time when some, or perhaps a great many traditional notions about what socialism or what the political system under socialism should be are buckling under pressure from life or perhaps in the new conditions that have taken shape in the entire socialist formation. I believe that which we are going through in Poland is an element of great transformations, great shifts in the arrangement of forces, in attitudes, in views which ... [changes thought] These shifts are taking place in the whole of the socialist formation.

Of course, I am also aware that for a man who every day encounters all manner of difficulties and obstacles in organizing his daily life my argument that I am not worried, in a sense, or that I view these events without worry because they form a part of great transformations doesn't mean a lot, or perhaps it does not evoke cries of enthusiasm or cries like: Oh, things are going to be easier for me because we are not the only ones who are going through such problems. But such is the course of events, such is simply the dialectics of development that newly

born social and political systems after some time—I have already said this once—have to shed their old skin and put on a new one. This often happens in very difficult situations, full of tension and contradictions, such as we can see in Poland now.

Now, coming back to the eighth plenum, I think that the most important thing is that the plenum has reaffirmed, in this new situation, the line laid down at the sixth and seventh plenums. Furthermore, it took another step forward. I am thinking here about the statement issued by General Kiszczak. This is a very important event, from the point of view of political life and [word indistinct] which we as a nation want to achieve. So if things were to stop at just this one event, then we would have to acknowledge the plenum as very significant. It transpires in the first commentaries I read this morning in the world press that it is precisely this that is considered a very new thing, changing the political situation of the country. That is certainly so.

[Announcer] Thank you very much. Let me remind you that our guest on today's "Close-up" program was Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary. The program was prepared by Jerzy Malczynski.

Role Seen for 'Constructive Opposition'

LD2908215688 Warsaw PAP in English 2003 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 29—One could state as early as today that the 8th Plenum of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee which ended yesterday is exceptionally important in many ways.

In these difficult, breakthrough days the top leadership of the party, complemented barely three months ago, has received full support from the whole Central Committee.

The unity of the Central Committee and trust in its leadership was placed in light of the 8th plenum above critical and self-critical comments on the functioning of the party and various links of authority and economic administration.

One of the significant tests consists in the positive reception of Gen. Kiszczak's statement published right before the plenum with a proposal of holding "round table" talks without any pre-conditions both as concerns the subject matter and the composition of the participants. This offer of expanding dialogue and agreement excludes only those who reject the legal and constitutional order of People's Poland.

The address of president of the medical academy in Gdansk Barbara Krupa-Wojciechowska is characteristic of the new way in which the party reasons. Krupa-Wojciechowska told the plenum: "It would be optimal if the leaders of not 'Solidarnosc', because 'Solidarnosc' is no more, but of this whole movement which today is different than 8 years ago, were to sit down to talks and were they to feel co-responsible to an equal degree as we do."

The course and atmosphere of the 8th plenum, from which extensive excerpts were speedily reported by television as well, already go to show that the party is the same but not like that which existed till 1981. [sentence as received]

The action which has been taken proves that premises exist for the start of the formation of a constructive opposition to be an important aspect of the 8th plenum. An opposition which would be ready to take on real responsibility for the fate of the country. This would be a new political and social fact in Poland, one of importance hard to underestimate.

Council of Ministers Considers Economic Planning

LD2908192188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] The Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of Zbigniew Messner has considered the conclusions for the activity of the government and its agencies flowing from a report of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo at the eighth Central Committee plenum, the discussion at the plenum, and also the end speech of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State.

The Council of Ministers decided to prepare by 15 November a plan for the consolidation of the national economy, announced in the decree of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. In its construction, all the statements hitherto and also opinions of economic milieux, the managing cadre of enterprises, worker self-managements, and also socio-economic organizations will be taken into account. The coordination of the preparation of the plan for consolidating the national economy was given to Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy premier, chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission and chairman of the Council of Ministers Economic Reform Implementation Committee.

The government further decided to accelerate activities favoring the increase of the supply of goods and the assurance of the continuity of the sale of basic consumer durables, especially through the assurance of the appropriate supply of market production and its increase. The coordination of these activities was given to Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda. For the assurance of the permeability [as heard] of accounts between enterprises and the liquidation of the bottlenecks arising therein, the premier has approached Zdislaw Pakula, chairman of the Banks Board [Rada Bankow] and chairman of the National Polish Bank, NBP, for the urgent undertaking of the appropriate steps. Simultaneously, Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik was obliged to cooperate in the

practice of the financial accounting discipline between enterprises. Economic units incapable of improving their economic situation cannot count on the support of either the bank or the state budget.

For the restoration of control over the shaping of prices of final goods and also for the closer tying of the level of remuneration with the results of labor and services and especially supply prices, the Planning Commission and also the ministers of finance and labor and social policy were obliged to strengthen activities assuring prices and incomes policy discipline.

For the assurance of the accordance of the principles of activity of the central administration with the guidelines of the reformed economy and especially the implementation by administrative offices of functional tasks and also in association with complaints at the functioning of the central administration, another internal inspection will be carried out of the internal structure of ministries and administrative offices. This task was given to Lieutenant General [general dywizji] Michal Janiszewski, minister and head of the Office of Council of Ministers. The operational handing over to voivodas of the decisions resulting from the decisions of the eighth party Central Committee will ensue still this week.

The Council of Ministers also today accepted a package of executive acts to the law on the land management and the expropriation of property and also to the law on spatial planning.

Sejm Session Planned for 1 Sep

LD3008084888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] The Council of State has decided to convene the seventh session of the Sejm of the ninth term of office on or after 1 September this year. The Sejm will not necessarily assemble on that day: The date for the meeting will, as usual, be announced by the Sejm Presidium.

Wages for First Half of'88 Exceed Plan

LD2908170788 Warsaw PAP in English 1330 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 29—The government assessment of the money-market situation in the first half of 1988 shows the economic situation in Poland being complex. On the one hand, a high rate of economic growth was achieved and there was a serious acceleration of exports growth rate. This has produced a real possibility to fulfil, and even surpass, the majority of annual production targets. On the other hand, however, serious threats to money-market equilibrium appeared.

Those threats seriously affected public feelings. Next to the adverse influence exerted by the very fact of deteriorated equilibrium on public feelings, heavy damages are also caused by the way in which the process develops: through the mutually stimulated pressure of different social groups on the increase of incomes by means of departures from the rules which were to be commonly observed.

The growth of the average wage in the socialized economy was 58 percent, with the figure exceeding the planned one by 18 points. Against the background of the growth of prices and costs of living, the rise of pays achieved in the first half of 1988 added to their buying power. (The Central Annual Plan envisaged the maintaining of the 1987 level after excluding from the costs of living the hikes of prices for alcoholic drinks and tobacco).

Taking the figures for the first half of 1987 as 100, the average wage in the first half of 1988 was 158.3 while the costs of living of employees working for the socialized economy—149.6, the costs of living without price hikes of alcoholic drinks and tobacco—142.4, the real pay—105.8 and those excluding price hikes of alcohols and tobacco—111.2.

The average old age and disability pension (excluding private farmers) was 23.154 zlotys in the first half of 1988 and was higher by 51.9 percent than at the same time last year. The average pension is expected to grow by 60 percent this year—that is faster than it was planned and on a similar scale as the average pay.

In general, population's incomes in the first half of 1988 grew by 63.7 percent against the figures scored at the same time last year (they rose by 33.7 percent when compared to the second half of 1987). The incomes growth rate considerably surpassed the planned annual indicators. Population's incomes are also expected to exceed the planned figures by the end of the year. This surplus is expected to reach some 1.8 trillion zlotys, with the half of the sum coming as a result of higher than planned wages.

Basic categories of incomes (excluding those from selling agricultural produce), and mainly remunerations, were growing faster than prices in the first quarter of this year compared to the fourth quarter of 1987. The situation changed in the second quarter of this year when only the growth rate of incomes from social benefits exceeded the increase of retail prices. At that time, particularly low were wages. This was connected with the feeling of lower standards of living and caused the growing discontent and atmosphere of nervousness.

The money-market equilibrium was upset as incomes grew considerably faster than retail prices, exceeding the planned figures, while the planned increase of the overall volume of supplies of goods purchased by people was preserved as planned. The overall supplies grew by some 3 percent while the services offered by the socialized economy rose by 4-5 percent.

The balancing of the economy is of primary importance for the rationalization of economic processes and improvement of public feelings.

Transport Union Sets New Deadline for Government

LD2908163388 Warsaw PAP in English
0905 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Lodz, Aug 29—Referring to an agreement between the Trade Union Federation of Municipal Transportation Employees and the government signed in April, head of the federation Wieslaw Gicel told PAP that the government had still not met one of the points of the agreement which obliged it to make a synthetic assessment of wages till June 30.

Thus the federation decided that the agreement was not fulfilled and set new deadline for August 31. After this date the federation is authorized to undertake actions in line with Chapter Five of the Law on Trade Unions without resuming the dispute.

Pope Criticizes Communist Rule in Poland

AU2708131788 Rome ANSA in English
1018 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Text] (ANSA) Castelgandolfo (Near Rome)—Within a state, a single group or a sole party cannot rule at the expense of an entire people and their rights, Pope John Paul II said at the end of a prayer marking the Feast Day Friday of the Black Madonna of Jasna Gora.

The Polish Pope included many of his countrymen at his summer residence at Castelgandolfo, a hill town some twenty miles southeast of Rome. He prayed that the experience of the entire post war period would make mankind even more aware of this matter of sovereignty and ready to assume the responsibility that this awareness entails.

He recalled that the historic road down which the Polish people have travelled has been difficult, "especially in these last centuries." He said this was also due in part to "our weakness, our defects," and the faults of entire generations of people, no matter what their station in life.

He urged the Poles to be ready with acts of generosity and sacrifice which often require great heroism. John Paul also gave thanks for all of what he termed "moral victories", for the liberation some seventy years ago from centuries-long foreign domination, for independence, and "for everything that demonstrates the fact that as a society we want to live by ourselves and manage our own lives envolving and not regressing along the road to social progress." "We know that a state is only truly sovereign when it is based on the sovereignty of the society, the nation, creating for this the adequate conditions," he said.

Krakow Cardinal, Sejm Official Meet

LD2908224288 Warsaw PAP in English
2110 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Krakow, Aug 29—Chairman of the Krakow Sejm caucus, 1st secretary of the PUWP Krakow Committee Jozef Gajewicz met here today with Metropolitan of Krakow Cardinal Franciszek Marcharski.

Gajewicz briefed Cardinal Macharski on the socio-economic situation in Krakow voivodship.

The sides expressed hope as to the development of unobstructed dialogue. It should lead to the social conciliation for the benefit of the homeland, the common house of all Polish men and women in which all of us are co-hosts.

OPZZ Views Price-Income Situation

LD2908165688 Warsaw PAP in English
1502 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ has made an analysis of population's incomes and costs of living and of the price-income policy in the first half of this year.

The authors of the report compared the first half of this year with the second half of 1987 and on many occasions even with the 4th quarter of last year. This comparative data portray a different picture of the situation than the official comparisons.

According to official information, retail prices of commodities and services went up by 51 per cent during the first half of this year. This increase was planned to reach about 45 per cent within the whole year or 36 per cent when leaving out alcohol and cigarettes. In the opinion of trade unionists one should expect that the planned rise of prices will be further exceeded to total about 60 to 62 per cent on an annual scale.

The money-market situation after the first six month of this year has sharply strayed from the assumptions of the plan, it was said in the OPZZ document. It was marked by a quick rise of population's money incomes along with a lower pace of growth of expenditures. Compared with the first quarter of last year, incomes grew by 63.8 per cent while wages grew by only 53.1 per cent that is only slightly faster than prices. In result of the slower pace of growth of expenditures than of incomes, population's money reserves increased in that period by 849 billion zloties. Unionists estimate that during the entire year theh total sum of incomes may exceed that planned by about 1.7 trillion zloties. Market deliveries of goods, in many instances basic commodities, were lower than in the first half of 1987.

The average wage in the socialized sector of economy reached 43.8 thousand zloties, while in education, health service, culture and other sections supported from state

budget the average wage reached only 37.4 thousand zloties. Thus the relation between wages paid from the budget and wages in the production sphere has further deteriorated.

Union activists pointed to the alarming drop of wages by 7.6 per cent in the extraction industry during the first six months of 1988 if compared to the 4th quarter of last year. In that period of time, the average wage in the socialized economy grew by 30.6 per cent without payments from profits and the factory bonus fund. The decrease of miners' wages will be even greater—by 12.7 per cent. At the same time one should remember that the average wage in the extraction industry in the first half of the year amounted to 76,580 zloties and included 14,371 zloties of payments for overtime work. Comparing miners' wages as is done in traditional statistics, that is to the first half of 1987, it would appear that those wages inceased by 51.7 per cent.

In general, the real wage in the socialized economy compared to the first half of 1987 increased by 5.9 per cent but compared to the fourth quarter of 1987 it dropped by 0.4 per cent. While in the extraction industry, the real wage dropped compared to the entire second half of 1987 and especially if compared to the fourth quarter it dropped by 30 per cent. Only if compared to the first quarter of 1987, did the miners' wages slightly increase, by 1.5 per cent. At the same time, all methods of calculation and comparative data show the fall of real wages in the sphere of education and tutoring.

Unionists also pointed to the different pace of growth of nominal wages and prices in the first half of 1988. Compared to the fourth quarter of 1987, wages grew by 25.3 per cent and prices by 19.6 per cent during the first quarter of this year. And finally the situation reversed in the second quarter of this year, compared with the first quarter: Wages increased by 5.9 per cent and prices by 19.7 per cent. This, it was stated, had to cause negative economic and social effects.

The real value of an average pension dropped in the first half of this year by 2.4 per cent according to traditional comparative data and by 5.6 per cent, compared to the fourth quarter of 1987.

Szczecin Strike Affects Duty Free Zone

LD2908202188 Warsaw PAP in English
1752 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 29—Despite the blow dealt by the strike to the implementation of our concept, we are not resigning from activities aimed at creating a duty free zone. It is one of the important elements of the program of the further economic revival of the Szczecin Bay, Jan Stopyra, the plenipotentiary of the voivod for the duty free zone told PAP.

Until recently interest in the Szczecin duty free zone was very big. We had about 60 offers from highly developed countries which wanted to bring in funds, technology, new organization systems which are very important for marshalling the economy.

The foreign offer-tenders have fallen silent since the strike started—no one is inquiring about the further fate of the venture. The strike has breached the necessary principle of confidence. No one wants to invest in a special economic zone if one of its key share-holders, albeit not of its own fault, is not reliable.

Szczecin Port Strike Causes Rail Losses

LD2908225888 Warsaw PAP in English
2225 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Szczecin, Aug 29—The losses that have resulted from the strike in the Szczecin port affect not only the port itself. According to the spokesman of the Pomeranian branch of the Polish railways, the strike caused the blocking of carriages with various freights for more than 160,000 hours [as received]. The railways' clients will have to pay over 67 milion zloties for it by way of compensation.

Also incommensurable losses should be mentioned: The blocked carriages were necessary for transporting other goods. The rhythm of the railways operation has been disturbed. Transshipment of numerous goods for foreign partners of the Polish railways takes place in the region of Szczecin and the illegal strike has disrupted, among other things, the timetable of ore supplies to Austria.

Citizens Polled on Chances for Dialogue

LD2908180288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 29 Aug 88

[All participants unidentified]

[Text] The idea of a roundtable suggested by General Czeslaw Kiszczak should make a useful contribution to establishing dialogue. We may have different political views but we ought to see economic results in the same way.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What do you think about accord between the authorities and the opposition?

[Woman] There is a good chance that this accord may be reached. I think that this opportunity that has arisen ought to be made use of. But whether we all, since it concerns all of us, make use of it, we'll see.

[First man] The authorities are not inclined to cooperate with the opposition to an extent when it would truly have a significant influence on things happening in our country. I think that the authorities' actions are make-believe which are aimed at...[changes thought] well, let's say, it's a safety valve.

[Second man] People need some kind of accord, some kind of humane attitude between men. Whether this is realistic also depends on men, I think, and above all probably on the authorities.

[Third man] I see no chance whatsoever.

[Reporter] In your view, who should have a say in this country so that something in this country could still be done?

[Third man] Sensible people, professional politicians. [end recording]

Further Media Commentary on Worker Unrest Crisis

Claims of Force Against Strikers Rejected

AU3008115788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 88 p 2

[Commentary signed "r": "The Journalist and Human Rights"]

[Text] Zbigniew Wrobel, TRYBUNA LUDU's Gdansk correspondent, did not enjoy human rights. They may be enjoyed by those who ought to enjoy them in the opinion of Mrs Phyllis Oakley, State Department spokesman; and Messrs Breit and Mohr, chairman and vice chairman of the German trade union DGB respectively; but not by Zbigniew Wrobel. All three have expressed their utmost concern over what they call the use of force against the strikers. As we know, no force was used, and if anyone insists it was used, then the force used against some of the employees in a Szczecin bus depot was no greater than that used against Zbigniew Wrobel, in other words they were lifted up and carried out of the premises. The only difference is that Wrobel was carried out of the Gdansk Shipyard in the chair in which he had been sitting and writing his report from Gdansk. Serious institutions of worldwide importance protested against the treatment of the Szczecin people who had been removed, but no one protested against Wrobel's treatment. Not even the strike of solidarity by some editorial staff will readmit Wrobel to the shipyard. And that is how a word that is seldom used today—manipulation—has made a comeback.

Calls For Aid for Strikers Dismissed

AU2608123888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 88 p 3

[PAP commentary: "Godly Wishes"]

[Text] There was a press conference for foreign journalists at the Church of St Brygida in Gdansk on 23 August. Some professional oppositionists, not one of whom is connected with the maritime economy either socially or professionally, presented their own dreams and desires on this very subject as if they were the truth.

Adam Michnik reported on the beginning of a strike at the "Vistula" shipyard and "Heroes of Westerplatte" northern shipyard in Gdansk. But what is the truth?

Czeslaw Ryrak, managing director of "Vistula," says: "Our shipyard has not stopped work even for a minute." Jan Mlodzinski, deputy director of the Northern shipyard, stressed: "The entire work force is working, despite the calls to strike by agitators from outside."

Father Henryk Jankowski [Walesa's adviser] emerged with another Godly wish at this very same conference. He appealed to the International Red Cross in Geneva for help in the shape of food and blankets for the strikers. Allegedly, this help is so necessary that Father Jankowski is even counting on—parachute drops!

It is probably easier to expect manna from heaven.

Michnik's RFE Interview Questioned

AU2608114788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 88 p 4

[Report signed 'BIS': "The Cat by the Tail"]

[Text] The title is frivolous, but the topic serious. In yet another interview for Radio Free Europe, Adam Michnik said the following literally:

"...The strikers are displaying a great amount of responsibility, calm, patience, and consistency, and one wishes the other side would remember the spirit of the August agreements and not be permanently obsessed with martial law."

In one sentence, the mature politician Adam Michnik commits several errors. Perhaps he also ought to answer the following questions in front of the same Radio Free Europe microphones:

—Does "responsibility" mean preventing safety operations from being carried out in mines, as was the case in several of them?

—Does "calm" mean despairing calls by families: "Come home"?

—Does "patience" mean barricading gates, walking around workplaces with wooden club, and insulting those who want to work?

—Is determination without regard to danger and economic losses a measure of "consistency"?

—Has Mr Michnik forgotten that the "spirit of August" is the slogan "socialism yes, distortions no," that embraces the whole of Poland?

—Instead of talking about an "obsession with martial law," has Mr Michnik nothing to say about the raging anarchy in autumn 1981, the empty shelves, and provocative calls like "this battle will be their last"?

Further in his interview, Michnik speaks about the Stalinist system (!) in which today's strikers are struggling in Poland. And this gives rise to the next question:

—Was the use of lies as propaganda not one of the features of Stalinism?

Foreign Media Strike Coverage

AU3008125488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 88 p 6

[PAP report: "The World Press on the Situation in Poland: Strike Blackmail Weapon Exacerbates Economic Difficulties"]

[Excerpts] Two currents of opinion merit highlighting in the latest foreign comment on recent events in Poland. The press in both the socialist countries and the West note that the strikes might harm the process of reform and national accord as well as worsen the economic situation in our country—a situation that is difficult enough as it is. The Western press has also carried reports suggesting that the unrest in Poland might hinder the process of restructuring in the USSR and the other socialist countries. Reports filed from Poland by Western journalists note that illegal strike action has not met with support from the broad mass of society. [passage omitted on socialist bloc comment]

The press and television in West Germany and West Berlin have begun to point out that strike action has not won the support of a majority of society although strikes have been taking place for more than a week. Wednesday's edition of DER TAGESPIEGEL writes that "the majority do not want an open confrontation with the authorities," and "the strikers are left to themselves." According to the KOLNER STADT ANZEIGER, one of the reasons for this is: "Mature Poles have a deep fear of a new wave of chaos along the lines of the Solidarity model of the summer of 1980. They would not like to see completely bare shelves in the shops once again. The people who are not afraid are young Poles, those who were almost children at that time." A report on West German television's (ZDF) Tuesday evening news bulletin stated that "broad sections of the Polish population believe that the strikes will lead nowhere." [passage omitted]

The view that the situation in Poland has a bearing on the success of reforms in other socialist countries was expressed by, among others, the French newspaper LIBERATION and Belgium's LE SOIR. The Wednesday edition of the latter stated that "if the situation in Poland deteriorates," the events in our country will be exploited by the opponents of restructuring [Russian word "perestroyka" used] in the USSR. An article by Alexandre Adler that appeared in LIBERATION notes that "today's Poland is not suffering from a lack of restructuring and openness" and that in many fields it is a "restructuring laboratory." The Polish authorities have proposed extensive reforms, enjoy the support of the Soviet leadership, and are the Soviet leadership's most important foreign allies with regard to reform-oriented efforts. At the same time, Mikhail Gorbachev is "sincerely striving to effect an improvement in Russo-Polish relations." According to Adler, the failure of renewal in Poland would deal a serious blow to reformers in the USSR. [passage omitted on L'HUMANITE coverage]

Foreign Correspondents Quoted

AU2608112988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 88 p 4

[PAP report: "The Opinions of Foreign Correspondents"]

[Text] Following the government spokesman's 23 August press conference, Teleexpress reporters asked foreign press correspondents in Poland what their respective countries would do in a similar situation.

Bengt Scotland, Radio Polonia: "We've already shown what would be done in a similar situation. Mrs Thatcher only has one method: The law is the law. If someone breaks the law, in other words the law on work, she opens the doors by force and lets those who want to work into the factory. And those who want to picket and interfere are removed."

Surender Kumar Bhutani, Indian Press Agency: "If the situation is serious, it is the duty of the authorities to intervene and ensure calm for the citizens. That is how we act in our country, in accordance with the principle of democracy. The situation in Poland is becoming serious, therefore the authorities should not shirk this duty."

Jukka Kiliunen, TIEDONANTJA of Finland: "In my country, a situation like this would not be possible. I mean it would be impossible for illegal strikes to last so long. But what would we do? We would create order."

John Daniszewski, AP: "In my country, the parties would first go to court, because it is the courts that settle matters like these. And then the strikes are suspended until the court ruling."

Reform Against Criticism Defended

AU2908131388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 88 p 3

[Jacek Swidzinski commentary: "In The Beginning There Was Only Vinegar"]

[Text] The past generally appears in bright colors, but the present appears drab. Such is the psychological truth. Today we are protesting against the high prices and comparing them with prices in the past, saying: "The reform has brought nothing but price increases."

One can become dizzy from looking at the Polish reform solely through the spectrum of empty shelves, but that is how most of society evaluates economic performance. That is quite understandable.

Despite many efforts and successful operations, people are ceasing to identify the economic reform with a better future. More and more of them are carefully counting their money instead. Here and there one can hear talk of 7 wasted years.

The process of change in the Polish economy did not proceed without a hitch. But one has to realize at what point we began to reform the economy. There was nothing but vinegar on shop shelves. The West boycotted us, as illustrated by the painful economic restrictions. Our economy was pinned to the ground. The national income in 1982 was 25 percent less than in 1979. Western commentators said that there had never been such a drastic economic collapse in postwar history. These matters are generally known.

The party came out with a program of radically reforming the economy. The ninth congress commenced this program, and the tenth continued it. Enterprises, the basic units of the economy, became independent, self-managing, and self-financing. Following this economic decentralization, not only the structure of economic central institutions changed, but also their very function. The process of gearing the economy to the market started.

Reestablishing industrial production, which was almost completely obliterated in 1981 and 1982, and creating a relatively normal market are major achievements which present hopes, and also possibilities, of further normalization. After all, we began with ration coupons for most basic commodities (not just food), and today many sectors of the market are more or less normal. Let us admit that life in Poland today does not confirm the opinions about 7 wasted years. It should be remembered that equilibrium has partially been restored without foreign credits. In fact, it was necessary to repay them at the same time. Annual repayments of about Z2 billion is the price we are paying for the stoppage of supplies of materials and commodities.

Today it is difficult to ignore the effects. Many people now fear for their standard of living, as trade unionists have pointed out. Economists have warned against increased inflation, which still has not been reduced to single figures.

At first, the prices and incomes increase gave rise to a series of reservations and doubts, because of which it was made compulsory to assess their results following the first 6 months. The seventh Central Committee did so. Today, the failure of this move is visible to all. In economic affairs, one is called to account not for one's intentions, but for results.

One hears say that the "reformist movement in Poland has been defeated." Once again people are viewing the economy through the spectrum of shop shelves. But the idea of the reform is still fresh, and its paths have been accepted by society. Only the implementation thereof is obscure and inconsistent. What is needed is to make the reform process faster and more radical. The seventh plenum clearly pointed to this need.

Much has been done in the past few years. But there has also been much sloppiness and delay. Today one must not stop halfway. The changes to the system of economic management are providing the most valuable asset—confidence in the success of the reform.

Panel Discusses Solidarity, Martial Law

AU2908123188 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 21 Aug 88 p 3

["Press Review" compiled by M.K.]

[Text] A panel discussion organized by the Sociological Society, under the title "Reform, Revolt, Stagnation," was attended by Ryszard Bugaj, Bronislaw Geremek, Janusz Reykowski, Jadwiga Staniszkis, and Przemyslaw Wojcik. Issue 33 of TYGODNIK KULTURALNY published excerpts from this discussion, but they give few clues about all aspects of the discussion, because they did not state which passages had been omitted and statements made by participants often refer to issues not mentioned by TYGODNIK KULTURALNY. Still, some of the views stated during that discussion are worth publicizing.

All participants agreed that a process of disintegration of the political and power systems is taking place together with the disintegration of Poland. In such a situation, people's natural reaction is revolt and discord. Can the reform amount to such a reaction? Ryszard Bugaj was doubtful. "The acceptance of the reform's scenario depends on whether the reform improves the economy, increases social freedom, and so on. More and more people seem to doubt that, because by its very definition, the reform provides for a compromise with the present system and its animators."

Jadwiga Staniszkis justified that skepticism and said that, in translating sociological language into Polish language, a radical reform would have to change the entire sphere of the economy, which still continues to be ruled by political decisions. It would also have to change the very nature of the political system and "above all the claims of those in power—since Leninism until the recent decree granting special powers to the government—that historical and social problems should be subjected to arbitrary decisions."

However, the most significant exchange of views was the one that took place between Professor Reykowski, a former minister and now an advisor to the government, and Bronislaw Geremek.

Professor Reykowski thinks that "the explosive potential is still low in Poland" and that the government possesses only "limited resources" in the area of reform and is being hindered by the old Solidarity leadership, which continues to "halt the emergence of political orientations" and which can influence "the mobilization of the conservative forces within the system," which, in turn, "may tip the scales in their favor." That is why he renewed the appeal for "debates and serious talks at the same table."

This is what Bronislaw Geremek said: "The main problem of the governing community is what to do, if the present situation cannot continue, to ensure the reproduction of the system that is more or less similar to the previous system. Such thinking leads to the conclusion formulated by Professor Reykowski, namely, that Solidarity helps to strengthen the domination of conservatism, enmeshes us in a dangerous international situation, blocks all political intentions of those in power, and so on. I would call this reasoning a kind of blackmail. It was precisely Solidarity that was the first body to propose a reform program and that could have become a support for reform policy. However, on 13 December 1981, martial law was proclaimed and under its shield the government team created its own policy and promised to realize the economic reform that satisfied social aspirations. Well, what has been achieved? Nothing has been achieved in precisely this regard. I think that the conservative opposition still exists in the power apparatus and that it is necessary to go beyond this apparatus to overcome this resistance. There is no other way out. In this connection, you cannot ask the people to ensure that the progressive forces in the party apparatus do not contract a cold. This is a game about which we know nothing. This game is beyond the awareness of society, so how can you participate in it? A certain syndrome of political thinking, which those in power have still been unable to eliminate, has developed since 13 December. They have been unable to give up the defense of their positions and to get out of the vicious circle of destroying the independence of society."

Professor Wojcik defended martial law and said that it was necessary, because "now we know the names of those usurping and self-styled people who begged Brezhnev to intervene militarily." However, since Wojcik did not disclose what he knew about this subject, we still do not know who those people were. (Passage deleted in line with the law on the control of publications and public performances of 31 August 1981, Article 2, Item 6, THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE Issue 20, Position 99; THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE, Issue 44, Position 204, 1983.) I am afraid that if these and similar questions are not answered, neither the anticrisis pact nor even a dialogue on our difficulties, about which Professor Reykowski is so concerned, will be possible.

POLITYKA Editors View Polish Stalinism

AU2908114188 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 20 Aug 88 p 3

[Headline: "Polish Showdown With Stalinism—The Crushing of Dogmas"]

[Text] For the second time in 32 years we are trying to free ourselves from Stalinism. We no longer use euphemisms and no longer talk about "errors and distortions" and about the "personality cult." We are now talking about crimes and morals and material ravages. The Polish press continues to reprint Soviet press articles, which are a shocking testimony of martyrology and an analysis of Stalinism. We can also read articles written by victims of Polish Stalinism. Unknown facts continue to be revealed, new and more mature evaluations of that system continue to be made, and new questions continue to arise. Our editorial board has decided to answer some of these questions. The discussion was joined by Andrzej Garlicki, Adam Krzeminski, Zbyslaw Rykowski, and Wieslaw Wladyka.

Garlicki: I think that it is no accident that people call the Stalinist times a "period of errors and distortions." What do these words mean? They mean that the system was all right, except that it had errors and distortions and sprouted some diseased offshoots. It seemed that it would be enough to cut off these offshoots to make the tree grow healthy.

Rykowski: It turned out that that tree began to shrink instead....

Garlicki: Yes, because the trunk was diseased. Some people did not know, some did not want to know, and some could not say it aloud.

Wladyka: Yes, it was in 1956 that nothing was done to have an honest political and intellectual showdown with Stalinism. The moral expiation at the time was also doubtful. Neither institutions nor people had any showdown with the Stalinist past.

Garlicki: Showdowns were cut off by Gomulka in 1957, but the Stalinist mortgage continued to affect social awareness all the time. It is significant that whenever it was possible to write and speak out, the Stalinist motive would come back. People always talk about their innermost problems as soon as it is possible for them to speak out.

Krzeminski: Our attempts to fathom the phenomenon of Polish Stalinism are rather helpless. Either we view it through Soviet glasses or we use the classic models of describing totalitarianism. Hannah Arendt is supposed to explain all this to us. We are still without methods of

describing our Stalinism and of settling accounts with it in the country that had taken over the Stalinist model from the outside. We have no idea how to settle legal, moral, and political accounts and we do not know where responsibility of institutions and individual people begins and ends. I think that we should discuss typical features of Polish Stalinism and our typical problems.

Garlicki: It is easy to notice that, compared with Czech, Romanian, Hungarian, and other kinds of Stalinism, our Stalinism was much less gory. At times people try to explain that this was a result of the so-called soft revolution in 1944-47. And some people say that the forties were the halcyon years, to which we should return. This is a misunderstanding. It was precisely in those years that prisons were grossly overcrowded and that the proclaimed amnesties were never implemented. Security offices in rural areas did as they pleased. A civil war was being waged. That is nothing to yearn for. All this means that it was not the soft revolution that blunted the sharp edge of Stalinism in Poland. I think that the Polish people were more immune to Stalinism than other peoples, because the Polish people had much stronger traditions of independence and possessed a better ability to integrate themselves in the face of external dangers. In no country did the Catholic Church play such a great role. Even in the era of Stalinism it did not succumb to erosion.

Rykowski: I cannot agree with the view that Polish Stalinism was soft. Actually, this view amounts to trotting out Berman's defensive thesis. Do you remember what he was saying? That although the Beria system continued to exert such great pressure, he and Comrade Tomasz [not further identified] he did whatever they could to minimize all those horrible happenings, crimes, and terror. Can you say that our Stalinism was less harsh because it claimed fewer victims? Are we to evaluate the systems of government by the number of victims per every 100,000 inhabitants? A single fake trial ending in a death sentence is enough to evaluate a government system.

Garlicki: This is demagogy. I did not say that Polish Stalinism was less harsh. I do not judge that system in moral terms. What I said was that it had been less gory, which is of importance especially for those who did survive in our country, but would not have survived in other countries.

Rykowski: We still do not know how very gory Polish Stalinism was. There are no verifiable records of hundreds and hundreds of death sentences and thousands and thousands of deaths in prisons. Wladyka and I are in possession of a document from 1956 which states that it was impossible to find the graves of 2 out of 19 officers executed by bullets. Graves were found of 248 prisoners from the Rakowiecka prison who were sentenced to death. It is necessary to examine each of those death sentences and establish how many of them defied the rule of law. We should not forget that every voivodship had its own 'Rakowiecka' prison and its cemeteries with unmarked graves.

Krzeminski: Actually, we know two images of Stalinism. One is marked by martyrology such as torture, victimization, the death sentences of the officers of the [wartime] Home Army and not only of this army, terror, and fright. The other image, which was discussed by Issue 26 of POLITYKA under the title "This Was To Be So Forever," presented Stalinism as erecting to itself a monument in literature, movies, and architecture. We look at these two images as if at two separate things. Both are true and both possess a literary vision and an artistic myth, which makes an impression on the awareness of people, especially of young people. Both induce one to settle accounts with certain people. For example, in the case of writers we want to know who dishonored himself and who did not, and why. But there also exists a third image of those years—the image of the life of the people aware of dangers, hopes, achievements, and disasters. When settling accounts with systems such as the Stalinist system it is not easy to establish the moral criteria of evaluation, because between the tortured and the torturers there was an enormous mass of people who, looking back, identify themselves, on the one hand, with Nina Andreyevna (the authoress of the famed article published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA), who is unable to renounce her principles, on the other, with the victims. They do so not only for ideological reasons, but also because they defended their lives in the past. I think that these are the motives of many "Stalinist old men" who are hard at ease in the present atmosphere of showdowns, even though they have no blood on their hands, just the stupid theses of those years.

Rykowski: Precisely. Not all people spent their lives in prisons or in the houses of creative work. Stalinism invaded the entire daily life. It would be useful to reconstruct the legal system of Polish Stalinism. This system consisted of an enormous number of regulations. Draconian punishment threatened people at every step. People went to prison for failing to deliver a pig to a procurement point on time, for keeping a 1-dollar note at home, for unjustified absence from work, and so on. I will not list the jokes for telling of which people were punished by the small penal code.

Wladyka: It was not only some writers who had to face the consequences of their dishonor, but I think that the lawyers had the easiest passage through the October [1956] purgatory. The judicial system in which the people, who had fake processes on their conscience, continued to act as judges and prosecutors in courts of justice for many years after 1956 cannot be healthy. The penal code of the fifties is the most dishonorable book I have ever read.

Krzeminski: What about journalists, teachers....?

Garlicki: You are discussing the elites. The Polish peasant had nothing to answer for. I do not think that he had any horrible hangover on account of Stalinism. The same is true of workers and tradesmen....

Rykowski: I agree, but there is no doubt that those communities were able to avoid any consequences that had originally backed Stalinism, but were the first to reject it when the time came. They were the main shock troops of the October changes. They became victorious, and victors never face trials. Actually, it was the lower functionaries in the power apparatus who really had to pay. They were carted out and demoted.

Wladyka: Perhaps you remember this joke: Two gentlemen in a cafe kept watching a third gentleman at the next table, and one of them said: "He could have been a decent fellow if he had lived in a normal country." The fact that our elites made sure in advance of disclaiming any responsibility for what had happened has left us with the continued struggle for one's decency. He who disclaimed any responsibility at an earlier date is more decent than the one who made this disclaim at a later date. What also counts is how many times one has denounced his fellow citizens to the militia and how many poems one has written about comrades from the Security Office. This a lasting stain on our culture. That is what Stalinism has left us.

I think we should ponder what Stalinism has done to us and how far we are still Stalinist and in what ways. Just take a look at the Stalinist impressions on our economic life, science, and culture. Stalinism has curbed our awareness and has promoted our inhibitions. Let us find out what has been left of the political theater of those days and of the state's from-above organization of all aspects of our public life. We still have in mind the model of the state as it was shaped in those days, when we speak of socialist democracy.

No wonder this is really so. After all, the generation that was brought up in the fifties is still playing the dominant role in our political and intellectual life. Whether in the government or in the opposition, representatives of that generation are unable to free themselves of the Stalinist syndrome of thinking—of the secretive conduct of policy and tactics, of regarding adversaries as enemies, of ideological thinking as a substitute for settling specific matters, and so on, and so forth.

Garlicki: A single Stalinist generation and a single generational experience do not exist. Young descendants of the Home Army lived side by side with members of the Polish Youth Union [ZMP]. Not every one is obliged to account for his deeds, because there are people who were conditioned by the opposition to Stalinism and not by participation in it.

Rykowski: Perhaps it would be better to say that they were conditioned by their resolve to survive, to be true to themselves, and to preserve their values.

Krzeminski: Cancerous thinking about politics, ideology, socialism, the left-wing, and the right-wing is still with us. Whereas it was easy to get rid of external Stalinist iconography and slogans, the deep structures and social conducts created by them may remain for a long time. It was not only that the organizational continuity of Polish differentiated political thinking has been interrupted while efforts were being made to preserve appearances and window dressing, but that practical political skills of real democracy have also been destroyed. That is why every alternative tradition has been cracked and that is why some people in opposition are inclined to show some totalitarian gestures, because the opposition has had no opportunity to get to know the behavior of pluralism in practice. But the worst thing is that the opposition which has some left-wing associations, which is "homeless" to a certain extent, and which is trying to free itself from the post-Stalinist protectors, is now looking for an ally in Catholicism, even though Catholicism is distrustful of it.

Wladyka: It was precisely Stalinism that has taken Polish socialism away from us. It has destroyed that concept of social order and democracy that our socialists continued to proclaim after 1945. Today people like to recall the so-called Polish road to socialism as the product of Gomulka's policy up to 1948 and since 1956. But I think that this policy's present intellectual and ideological attractiveness is in doubt. After all, that policy was merely a different, a softer version of Stalinism. It is only now that we are returning to the old socialist concepts.

Garlicki: A certain vision of the economy was the fundamental substance of Stalinism. Stalin created a society that was subject to a ruthless and all-embracing central planning and to detailed and bureaucratized management. He abolished the market, which was tantamount to destroying all forms of freedom and democracy. The easiest thing to do was to reject the socialist songs and booklets you ridiculed, but the most difficult thing to do is to change the economic model. We have been trying to change it for several years and we know how difficult it is to do this.

The question of how deeply rooted Stalinism was in Poland cannot be answered now, because we need research work to find out. It is certain that Stalinism took deep roots in certain communities, probably most of all in intellectual communities. But these are not the only roots. Deep roots are also present in the economic model, in development lines, and in the circumstance that man is just a very small cog in the big machine of the state.

We are discussing the Stalinist legacy in Poland. Let us not forget that Stalinism not only took things away from people. It also gave them things, including cheap apartments, for which one had to wait for a long time; universal education; cheap vacations for workers; poor but cheap food everyone could buy. It also created social advancement, because it catered to the poorest segments

of society and transferred them to industrial civilization. Stalinism also denoted a certain life style. Many people could live under it in conditions that were perhaps not quite good, but that offered some security since the social minimum was assured. This was something to look forward to for those who went through wartime poverty and misery.

I also think it is wrong to present those times in either white or black colors. Life has always been much more complicated. Even those who admitted to have been Stalinists are scoundrels and careerists, on the one hand, and honest idealists, on the other. Only in later years was it possible to find out what reasons had moved those people.

Rykowski: I would be very careful in evaluating the so-called achievements of Stalinism. First, we would have to accurately establish how many people benefitted from those blessings of social policy and who these people were. We know from other sources, that the living conditions during the implementation of the 6-year plan did not improve. Rural areas were almost entirely excluded from those beneficial actions of the state and were all but completely destroyed. Small and medium towns continued to become derelict. Sometimes people say that Stalinism was bad and good. It was bad because it promoted repression and it was good because it changed social structures and accelerated development. I am against this sort of views that the Ninas Andreyevas like to propagate. Stalinism was a wrong and inhuman system and cannot be justified by the fact that people continued to build plants and moved from rural to urban areas. As we can see today, this was neither the only possible nor the right road to industrialization and out of backwardness. The forcible industrialization and collectivization were chosen only to strengthen political dictatorship.

Wladyka: Zygmunt Kaluzynski is angry that what historians write about those Stalinist days does not jibe with his own memories and that historians do not know the truth of life. It is always so that people, especially young people, fall in love, get married, raise children, buy things, and get to know this and that.... This was so in those days, especially since after the Hitlerite occupation people had something to be pleased about—primarily that they were still alive. But the thing is that they had those normal human joys not because of Joe, but despite Joe [Stalin], because he was not an inevitable historical necessity. Life after the war did not have to carry such a price.

Krzeminski: I think that, as historians, you treat Stalinism as a historical phenomenon. But such structures last longer than the lifespan of the generation that constructed them or of the generation on which these structures were imposed. These structures disappear into history when new structures replace them or when people make a thorough moral self-examination. To move ahead, society must purge itself and undergo a catharsis. This process is made up not only of trials of perpetrators, if at all held, but also of disclosures of crimes, the mechanisms of slavery, and the demolition of the moral immunity of the institutions and people representing them. However, the difficulty is that the following generations present the bill, although they have still not demonstrated that they are able to build something better. The departing generations are unable to come to terms with the fact that their lives are supposed to have been wasted. This means that that catharsis cannot be just a single measure such as, for example, the eighth plenum in 1956 or any other plenum now, but that there must be a long and tiresome temporary period, during which the beginnings of new order are interspersed with respect for the old order.

Rykowski: They still continue to place flowers on Boleslaw Bierut's grave in the presence of military companies of honor.

Wladyka: True moral problems cannot be solved, and that is their characteristic. Children of today are entitled to ask the old Stalinist generations, which happened to live during that time, the perhaps unjust question of how it was possible to live in those days and why these generations wanted to live at all. There is only one answer to that question: You had to live the life as it was then. We must not prevent children from asking such questions, even if no other answers are possible.

Krzeminski: I do not agree that the issue cannot be resolved. It may be unsolvable to some extent in a metaphysical way, but specific people can be made responsible. This year in the FRG there has been a case of a journalist who in 1943 wrote a reprehensible article about a pianist sentenced to death. After the war that journalist worked for 40 years to create democratic public opinion. If his present departure was distasteful, this was because he failed to credibly admit his guilt. Often the people who abandon totalitarianism were infected by it. This is not always a question of changing "tainted" people into "blameless" people. Both categories exist, and the scale of values is very complicated in this regard. However, we have no instruments with which to morally evaluate people's attitudes and social movements. It is often that various people cite documents of 1951 or 1968 and ask that the guilty be morally banished, but fail to find out about the guilty's later achievements and changed attitudes. We have an enormous number of judges, but few defendants.

Rykowski: Problems of moral responsibility arise in our country primarily because there was no responsibility to the people. Communist mentality believed in responsibility to the international workers movement and to the idea embodied by a tested body of comrades. Responsibility before public opinion did not exist, because it was part of the old world. After all, the principle was in force that it is better to err with the party than to be right outside it. In 1956 political responsibility should have

rationally relied on the introduction of pluralism of government and civic initiatives, but this was beyond one's comprehension and no part of reality.

Garlicki: Perhaps it is possible only now to have a showdown with Stalinism. Stalinist generations are gradually disappearing. Young people unaffected by the past can carry out this showdown. The 20th CPSU Congress was a moral shock, but was it really possible to genuinely restructure everything in those days? This must be thought over calmly and honestly.

Krzeminski: It is hard to expect a single action to demolish Stalinist thinking. This kind of infection will not disappear under the impact of a single shock. This is a wearisome process of changing the patterns of one's childhood and of being constantly vigilant against subconsciously becoming infected. The best proof of this is our 30-year efforts to abandon Stalinism via all the crises. The fact is that the Stalinist core, which has been tempered and smoothed, is still present in many people. Should we cite documents from not so distant years?

Wladyka: We are now witnessing the final public discrediting of Stalinism. We continue to rid ourselves of that burden in talks, discussions, publications, and new research. The problem of moral or political responsibility will return in any case, because such is the logic of public and open discussions. We know that the Stalinist system is over, but we do not really know how to forge ahead.

Krzeminski: The second half of the 20th century knows how to switch over from totalitarianism to democracy, but we still, do not know whether democracy is the best thing for the immediate future in the face of the global ecological, social, and economic challenges. Still, it seems that democracy is the best thing. Our question is how to switch over from authoritarian and bureaucratic socialism to democratic socialism. Does democratic and non-Stalinist communism really exist and what is it like? We know that social democracy does exist.

Garlicki: Developed social democracy does not exist anywhere as yet. Perhaps it exists in Yugoslavia to some extent. In our country we seem to be trying to square the circle. We want the party to have power and to determine the most important issues and, at the same time, we want to create an entire series of checks and balances to hold that power on a leash and to give advance warnings. New political order would control, verify, and correct policy, as is the case in parliamentary democracies, but this would be without the usual struggles for power.

Wladyka: How to confront democracy with democracy? In other words, how to keep power and socialize policy?

Rykowski: When we speak of getting rid of Stalinism, we should beware of Stalinist thinking. At the moment discussions are continuing on how to organize the political system—whether there should be two parties, seven parties, one party and clubs, Christian democracy, quasi parties in the form of associations, and so on, and so forth. This is precisely the kind of thinking that produces fiction. Democracies came into being through the play of social interests and forces and not through ideas. Democracies come into being through the fact that people and social forces are able to express their views and to act. Until they agree on the lasting rules of the game, they undergo clashes and conflicts, which help them to develop themselves.

Krzeminski: There are two roads to the future. One is to keep the pot boiling until it explodes and to hope that after the explosion it will be possible to return to the old system. But this is improbable, given the present international situation and the changes in the USSR. That is not our road. That is why we have to take the other road: prudence and democratization on the part of our government camp.

Garlicki: Stalinism was able to exist with the help of terror and through attracting newer and newer social forces. Stalin also continued to renew the elite in power. The disintegration of Stalinism began when it gave up terror. Mao knew that, and that is why he unleashed the cultural revolution. If you reject terror, Stalinism has no chance. It is unable to frighten people and has nothing to give. It must break down.

Rykowski: Stalinism was also a collection of dogmas on how to organize power. The practice that was compatible with those dogmas denied the values of socialism. It did not do away with man's alienation vis-a-vis ownership and power. The rebirth of socialism denotes a return to fundamental values—man's liberation and self-determination. A vision of democratic socialism with a human face is fascinating, and it is easy to enlist its advocates if one does more than just utter fine words. Poor is the idea that assumes that the break with Stalinist dogmas must mean the loss of power by the left wing in Poland. On the contrary, sticking to dogmas and schemes exposes power to erosion and damages the left-wing principles.

If power is to be effective, it must be democratic. The left wing must struggle for democracy and for this reason must present itself as a living formation, one that makes searches, engages in unrestricted discussions, and practices criticism. Only in this way will it be possible to win new, young sympathizers, who are put off by the present style of policy.

Wladyka: Getting rid of Stalinism is not an easy process, because this process continues to be opposed by the old structure of interests, restricted thinking, and fears of the unknown. But there is no other way for the left wing in Poland. Getting rid of Stalinism is our great chance.

Need for Continued Renewal Examined

AU2608104888 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Syzdek: "There Can Be No Going Back"]

[Text] In the past few years we have witnessed the progressive democratization of our political life. We have outstripped certain processes now taking place in this regard in the USSR. It is also significant that our reforms are rooted in Polish conditions, needs, and expectations.

Democratization of political life denotes continuous efforts to increase people's shares in governing the country and in determining its fate. This is a continuous process, one that is being consistently enriched by new elements. There can be no going back on it, because such is Polish reality, and congress resolutions have often stressed that. But what is this process and what are the new Polish institutions?

PRON, which was set up in 1982, has left a significant mark on our changes as a platform for accord of political and social organizations and for people holding different political views. Although PRON has not embraced many of our communities, it has played an important role in developing Polish democracy. It was PRON activists who proposed modifying the election law, so that in the recent elections to the people's councils our citizens were able to really choose and not just deliver their voting cards. This was a significant step forward, but too timid in people's view. Moreover, it was with difficulty that this "novelty" broke through the tough wall of previous customs. However, all this was a lesson of democracy for our people, and this lesson will be applied in coming elections, including Sejm elections.

PRON also proposed introducing the Western type referendum, and although few people voted in it to help determine the country's future, its results were clearly instrumental in adopting the present economic reform.

Democracy has also made its entry into the Sejm, which is no longer a "voting machine." Basic disputes and discussions take place in the Sejm. Its laws are no longer unanimously adopted, and many government bills are rejected or returned for improvements. Cadre decisions are no longer foregone conclusions, as demonstrated by the Sejm's refusal to accept the recall of Tadeusz Hupalowski, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control.

The establishment of the Socioeconomic Council attached to the Sejm was a new thing in our parliamentary life. Members of that council, who represent various communities and have a profound practical knowledge of our reality, exert a significant influence on the country's development. But they think that their influence could be greater. Many of their proposals have passed the test of practice.

It has also been possible to invite some people from the opposition to cooperate in democratizing our political life by joining the Consultative Council attached to the State Council chairman. The council was set up in 1986.

"The establishment of the Consultative Council," Prof Jerzy Wiatr wrote, "denotes a crucial extension of dialogue and the introduction of an interesting experiment involving people who hold very different political views, who were and are much divided, but who want to promote national accord and state reforms." This was the reason for establishing the council, but it is regrettable that a large group of Catholic activists, who would be able to present their views more strongly, do not attend the council's sessions.

He who might think that democratization is taking place in the center only would be mistaken. Democratization is making its progress, albeit with difficulty, in the field as well. The new people's councils have been granted considerable powers as masters of urban and rural areas. The local echelons of state administration must obey the decisions of the people's councils, which have gained much more room for action, because now they possess communal property and are able to contract loans.

The institution of the ombudsman is a completely new feature in our country and enjoys great public trust, as attested to by many letters sent by people to Prof Ewa Letowska. This institution is able to successfully intervene in many cases and to nail unlawful conduct in various areas of life. The ombudsman institution is one more important guarantor of the lasting nature of changes in our public life.

But these changes can succeed if our reforms are realized comprehensively and resolutely and if various barriers are effectively eliminated. The sixth plenum resolution says in this connection:

"We are for eliminating whatever creates a sense of division in the governing and the governed and promotes bureaucratic distortions. This elimination is the most important condition for increasing the strength of the socialist state and for boosting the effectiveness of its agencies.... We will continue to create increasingly better conditions under which various views and interests can be coordinated, to extend the platform of national accord, and to strengthen the coalition methods of state government.... We take the view that socialist democracy should provide extensive room for civic activities based on multiple motives. The constitutional order and the raison d'etat of People's Poland are and will remain the basis of dialogue and the ultimate limit of socialist pluralism."

There have been many discussions about the development of democracy, and one such discussion, which was held in Poznan last June and was attended by party activists and representatives of the social sciences, dealt with drawing up a new constitution, because the present

one dating back to 1952 is no longer compatible with the present stage of the socialist state's development, as it lacks provisions for new democratic bodies and institutions. There is the need to invest with new meanings the notions such as socialism, egalitarianism, social justice, mutual relations between social forces, a new role for the intelligentsia, and the place of various forms of property in our socioeconomic system. "It must be stressed," the Poznan meeting noted, "that new democracy denotes the genuine nature of people's rule in three areas—the political, production, and government."

Work on a new constitution is continuing, and new prospects for extending the social base of accord are arising. These prospects are related to the concept that enjoys the support by various circles connected with the government as well as with the opposition and that envisages the establishment of an anticrisis pact or an anticrisis coalition.

However, Jerzy Grzybczak is probably right when he writes in ODRODZENIE that the road to new accord is neither easy nor simple, because today even the most attractive terms and slogans referring to democracy no longer guarantee success. What is needed is to overcome mutual traumas and prejudices and to express readiness for a mutual compromise. The recent statement made in KONFRONTACJE by Prof Klemens Szaniawski, a scientist from independent circles, shows that such a compromise is necessary:

"I have aired my views as an advocate of compromise, one that does not demand that basic values should be abandoned. However, I fear that it will be increasingly difficult to reach such compromise as time goes by. Would that no one is able to say in the future about the changes that will have to take place that, as ever, they were too modest and too late."

Ryszard Zielinski, a well-known Catholic activist, writer, and member of the PRON National Council, also regards that anticrisis coalition "as an important factor in expanding the process of democratization to embrace new segments of society."

"I am in favor of that anticrisis coalition," he stressed, but it must be created with the participation of PRON and not by PRON itself. At the same time, he appealed for efforts to create the necessary conditions for political pluralism and for the emergence of new independent social bodies. The bill on associations, which is still under discussion, will create the necessary opportunities in this regard and will make it possible to legitimize groups of social militancy—groups that profess the socialist principles of the political system, the purpose of which is to repair the Republic. There is a social need for the existence of just such groups, many of which are already emerging without waiting for the law on associations. However, their emergence continues to be opposed by the local authorities. PRON, which under conditions of political pluralism intends to become an equal partner of emerging associations, is slowly adapting itself to new conditions and activities. Some PRON activists continue to deliberate on changing the name of PRON into a more adequate name of The Movement for Repairing the Republic.

The party is also undergoing democratization, although the issue of more accurately determining its place in the system of a broad political coalition. [sentence as published] Participants at the Poznan session said that it is necessary to determine whether the concept of a coalition is an element of tactics and strategy or a feature of the political system.

Of course, no one conceals the fact that inability to utilize democratic institutions is a serious barrier to the process of changes. It is only too often that omnipotent bureaucracy strangles social activities, although they are allowed. On the other hand, people's participation in the present changes is still too modest. We are standing on the sidelines of present processes and continue to grumble that there is no democracy in Poland. But the thing is that it is not only the good will of the authorities and the creation of new representative and advisory bodies, but also social militancy that are conditions for the success of further changes in our country. This is because democracy that is not actively supported by a majority of citizens amounts to no more than a word with little meaning in it.

TRYBUNA LUDU Quotes Views on Sanctions

AU2608104188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 88 p 5

[T. Slomkowski article: "Supporters of the Spiral"]

[Text] Life has proved that this chapter is still not closed, the chapter on how activity aimed against the elementary interests of the state and society can be used in a political struggle. Action like destruction, destabilization, disorganization. Action whose initiators do not even shirk from open support for activity planned by foreign capitals. I have in mind the support rendered to the anti-Polish restrictions by U.S. Administrations and some of their NATO allies.

One has to recall this support, because the supporters have not altered their way of thinking at all. This thinking is based on presenting one's own (and someone else's) destructive activity as a way of building a better home by destroying the home one already has. It involves deliberate damage to one's own country, and then presenting the bill for the damage to someone else.

Let us take a closer look at this way of thinking in the context of the American restrictions. Adam Michnik wrote in DER SPIEGEL on 8 March 1982: "It is Jaruzelski and the Military Council, not Reagan or the Pentagon, who will bear the blame for the disastrous effects of the sanctions on Polish families."

But notice one thing, Michnik acknowledges, "the disastrous effects of the sanctions on Polish families." That means these social circles were aware of these effects from the very beginning. And even so they defended the sanctions and lied that they would have no effect on normal breadeaters.

"The sanctions merely have a symbolic significance," said a communique by the Temporary Coordinating Commission on 26 November 1983 (carried by the MAZOWSZE weekly on 1 December 1983). Zbigniew Bujak said in an interview for the Paris KULTURA on 4 April 1982: "First, one has to answer the question whether the sanctions really are affecting society, as television claims they are. In other words, would Western aid be used in order to improve Polish society's material and food situation. There is no doubt about the answer. Only a small proportion of this aid would be used for this purpose. The remainder would be used in order to implement the political great-power interests of the bloc."

Senator Christopher Dodd once said about his meeting with Nobel prizewinner Lech Walesa: "Lech Walesa told me that the American sanctions had a very minor effect on the Polish economy." Referring to this talk, the "Voice of America" said on 21 August 1983: "Walesa is in favor of the sanctions, especially because they have had no major influence on the lives of Poles."

These "disastrous effects" were either a slip of Michnik's tongue, or else he used this expression for the sake of political distortion, because he knew what the stance of his political colleagues was. But whether this was a slip of the tongue or deliberate distortion, it fully reveals the moral-political pseudoarguments of Michnik, not to mention Bujak, Walesa, and others. After all, they knew the facts, and if they were incapable of understanding them, they had an entire team of advisers at their disposal, including some with the title of professor. And the facts were as follows:

The direct and indirect costs of the American sanctions alone amounted to $15 billion. In other words, that is the amount of money that failed to reach Polish coffers because of a loss of exports and the need to lower prices owing to the enormous customs tariffs imposed on us and because of the reduction or elimination of specific products and services.

How did Polish families feel this? We can remember the disappearance of goods from the market. To this very day, some factories are experiencing a shortage of spare parts, raw materials, and semi-finished goods. For once something is severed, it is difficult to reunite it. Assistant Secretary of State Tom Simons only saw one aspect of this. Following the final abolition of the direct restrictions, he said at a press conference on 19 February 1987: "The American market is very competitive. Perhaps the Poles will never return to our market with some goods, a market they lost during the sanctions."

Let us add to this the ban on exports to Poland of some equipment and parts, for example replacement parts for medical apparatus, which was suddenly included in the list of goods we were not allowed to receive. This is just one detail, but I mention it in order to reveal the morality behind statements whereby the restrictions were not harmful to society and to recall the intentions behind the calls to tighten this spiral.

For Jerzy Milewski told the Americans (Radio Free Europe, 26 May 1983), that lifting the restrictions would be a "hostile act against Polish society." And in the abovementioned conversation with Senator Dodd, Lech Walesa assured him that "lifting the Western economic sanctions against Poland at this in time would be a wrong political signal for the PPR Government." (Voice of America, 31 August 1983). The appeals for a continuation of the anti-Polish action were also supported by Zbigniew Bujak, who said: "Let them apply their restrictions. I do not hesitate to say that it is their moral duty" (LIBERATION, 6 October 1983), whereas Adam Michnik even went into ecstasy: "The attitude of the Western countries...is wonderful," and hailed this "beautiful movement of solidarity with Poland, solidarity with 'Solidarity' " (interview in DER SPIEGEL, 12 November 1984).

In other words, Michnik and others are ready to risk the existence of the nation for the sake of their political goals. This is the reasoning of those who regard themselves as saviors of the nation and are at times so regarded in the West.

But gradually the advocates of the noose have realized that they have missed their mark. At first, it was possible to resort to lies and demagogy. The effects of sanctions were still not tangibly felt, and only our traders and financiers learned about them overnight. Nevertheless, workers, foremen, and engineers began to gradually notice why they were short of some spare parts and materials, which had been easily obtainable in the West before. They also realized that this was directly and indirectly caused by sanctions and not by defects of our economy, by false planning, or by unreliable cooperating producers. Those wishing to visit their relatives in the United States realized that the suspension of the Warsaw - New York air service was a blow against them and not against the government. Public opinion polls confirmed that those who sympathized with U.S. sanctions were in isolation.

In such a situation it was necessary to change the tack. But when shedding the mantle of a sheep and assume the mantle of a wolf, it is necessary to deny that which was a demand only a day before? Much thought was spent on this problem, but the final product of deliberations was, as usual, quite illogical. According to AFP, on 8 December 1983 Lech Walesa modestly confessed: "I am no specialist, but I think that the cancellation of the most-favored-nation clause is a sanction that should be lifted, because it has fulfilled its role."

If that sanction fulfilled its role, it means that, logically, it was an important sanction. However, Lech Walesa often demonstrated that he defied the principles of common sense, because the following day he said: "My view of sanctions has always been what it is today. Sanctions were rather propaganda than economic in nature" (his interview for ABC News on 9 December 1983). If sanctions were propaganda, then who "bent" under them? Walesa disregarded this as nonsense, because the point was not logic and truth, but verbal manipulation in order to turn his moral - political defeat into victory.

A journalist from Bavarian Radio noted this strange thing and asked Walesa how to reconcile his appeals for lifting the sanctions with his support for them for political reasons. Walesa dodged the issue and said: "I refer to sanctions that were rather political and solidary in nature. These sanctions have fulfilled their purpose, and it would not have been proper for them to lose their greatness and importance (Deutschlandfunk on 10 April 1984). Two days later he said: "I spoke only about those sanctions that concern politics and are a matter for our trade union" (Radio Free Europe on 11 April 1984).

It was unfortunate that Walesa did not disclose any details, because... he did not have them. There were economic sanctions, and that was that. The rest was a juggling with words and throwing dust in one's eyes in order to hide the fact that the defense of sanctions disclosed a position that was in conflict with elementary social interests and in order to save face.

However, this did not mean that the original position was modified. The defense of sanctions failed, because the U.S. Administration also realized that the sharp edge of sanctions harmed the long-term plans of U.S. policy. That is why sanctions were partially lifted in 1984 and then were completely abandoned. When these changes were made in Washington, the advocates of the sanction noose in Gdansk and Warsaw could only act as echoes, and this not only with regard to sanctions. The day's agenda also included normalizing fiscal and economic relations with the United States and the issue of loans from international institutions. The point was not assistance, but the restoration of the old trading and fiscal conditions so that Poland would be able to operate in a normal way and to primarily promote exports. Otherwise it would be difficult for our enterprises and fiscal institutions to work. However, U.S. Administration continued to create difficulties in this regard, even when sanctions have partially been lifted. At this juncture Lech Walesa immediately "reaffirmed his reservations with regard to the most crucial sanctions—to the freezing of loans for Poland" (AFP on 8 December 1983). He repeated that in his interviews for PROFIL (on 2 January 1984) and for the WALL STREET JOURNAL (broadcast by the VOA on 22 June 1985). This line continued to be maintained.

It is true that we do not know—we merely guess—where that line was formulated, because it is a fact that at the beginning of last May Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead publicly admitted that "the U.S. gradual program to support Polish efforts to implement the economic reform has achieved little more than lifting President Reagan's sanctions." He added that the United States "would assume a constructive position in the IMF, the World Bank, and the Paris Club at a suitable moment in order to support the Polish economic program," but that "there has never been any specific schedule for such assistance and support."

As you can see, the dual voice of Walesa and Whitehead sounds identical, despite the fact they use different words. However, if it is possible to comprehend the U.S. position within the framework of U.S. global policy, it is difficult to understand how a Polish citizen is able to support that policy or even to encourage its realization against his own country and nation. One may dislike one's government and one may have a different vision of the socialist system, but this is no reason for efforts to openly incite others to hamstring the country and the nation in the name of which one makes public statements, unless the typical philosophy of the noose that can be tightened from without and from within the country has become the only program.

Envoy Discusses State of Current U.S. Relations

LD2108225188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Interview with Ambassador to Washington Jan Kinast by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Our guest is the Polish ambassador in Washington, Jan Kinast. Mr Ambassador, you have been at your post only since December?

[Kinast] Yes, since December. At the same time, my U.S. colleague also began work in Warsaw. The restoration of relations at the level of ambassadors was proof of the process of improvement in mutual relations after difficult, hard years of political boycott, of an economic blockade—let us call this by its name—on the part of the U.S. Administration. This policy changed at a time when, in our country, normalization processes manifested themselves clearly, at a time when the program of our social, political, and economic reforms also became clear. This was a direct inducement to changes in U.S. policy. The process of rebuilding relations, to put it simply, is not easy, but is quite consistently realized.

[Correspondent] There have been numerous events this year.

[Kinast] Truly, this year was... [changes thought] many events can be noted. In February, there was the first commission for trade affairs in 7 or 8 years. As head of

the Polish delegation, Wladyslaw Gwiazda, permanent minister for foreign economic cooperation, visited Washington. Later, we had the first meeting of the commission for scientific-technological cooperation, also the first in several years. Deputy Premier Sadowski paid his visit at the end of June and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski at the end of this July. These were very important events in bilateral relations because they forged a path to further development and also unblocked currently existing obstacles.

Our interlocutors acquainted the U.S. partners with our programs for social, political, and economic reform. They were the subject of particualr interest. The U.S. partners were waiting for this. They assessed our reforms, and by the way similarly to other countries, as relevant, important, bold, and going in the right direction.

In October, another meeting of the Polish-U.S. Economic Council will take place in Washington. The last took place in Poznan last year, on the occasion of the Poznan trade fairs. This council is an informal, nongovernmental organization based on trade associations of both countries. It groups together entrepreneurs, industrialists, and trade representatives from both countries. The task of this meeting in Washington will be the examination of possibilities for undertaking concrete possibilities of cooperation between Polish and U.S. firms. However, of course a question arises. We must also answer this question today: Is Poland already a sufficiently credible economic partner? We cannot run away from this question. In October, we also anticipate the commencement of the final stage of our contacts with the IMF—that means taking up negotiations on the subject of the so-called adaptation program. After agreement on it, it would be possible for the IMF to grant Poland credits. Such a decision is depends, however, on the assessment of the state of our economy, the state of our reform. This means we will be the object of a scrupulous assessment of our economic condition, our economic capability, both in October and in the following months. There is nothing strange in this, nothing insulting. All countries are subjected, whether they like it or not, to various types of assessments and controls.

Ceausescu, Grosz Make Statements on Talks

AU2908140888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0130 GMT 29 Aug 88

["Press Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/08/1988—At the conclusion of the talks Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Karoly Grosz met with Romanian and foreign journalists. During the press conference the two leaders made statements on the working meeting and the talks held and answered the journalists' questions.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's statement:

Comrades, friends, gentlemen,

Today's meeting between the general secretaries of the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the result of the understanding jointly reached at the end of last week to meet in order to discuss the problems of the relations between our parties and countries.

I wish to mention right from the beginning that the meeting, our talks were held in an open, comradely spirit, reference being made to several problems of common interest regarding the relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic, between our parties related to their further development paths.

We have also exchanged opinions on more general questions, on our countries' development and on some international aspects.

We have discussed a wide range of questions. We started from the principles laid at the basis of the relations between our states written down in the treaty of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, from the interests of the Romanian people and of the Hungarian people, of our parties to develop the collaboration and good neighbourliness in the interest of each country's economic and social progress, of socialist construction, of raising each people's material and spiritual welfare.

We took and take the view, of course, that the good neighbourliness and collaboration represent a necessity for our peoples—as for all peoples—for the implementation of their socioeconomic development programmes.

We took and take into account that our relations serve at the same time the more general interests of socialism, the general interests of collaboration and cooperation in Europe, of accomplishing a united Europe, based on the diversity of social systems, on the observance of each people's right to build its life according to its own wish, without any outside interference.

I can assess that, by mutual agreement, we reached the conclusion that we would work for the growth of economic and technical-scientific collaboration in various forms, of scientific and cultural activity, and of general exchanges, including touristic, starting from what we agreed upon, and we think that this can be achieved in the current circumstances, that we should intensify exchanges of opinions and experience for a better understanding of the problems in one country or another so as to find the ways for an ever broader collaboration in all domains.

There are also problems on which there are differences of opinions. But we agreed that we should give pride of place to those problems and domains in which we have identical or very close positions, while on those problems—more general or more specific—where there still are differences, we should further work to bring our positions and points of view nearer to one another. We should do so as within our collaboration activity we should reach a better understanding of those problems on which there still are certain differences of opinions.

As a matter of fact, we have always started from the fact that socialism is built in conditions differing from one country to another, that each party and people must independently choose the ways of socialist construction. I can say that in today's talks on this viewpoint we reached full agreement. Life itself has proved that it is the sole just way along this line.

Maybe on some more general problems—theoretical or even practical—there are and there will be differences of opinions. But we hold the view that they must not be dramatized, exaggerated. We must start from the need to elucidate them, to understand them better. We must—and I say it again—give pride of place to those problems where we have common positions. And we can say that on most problems, including the problems of socialist construction there are common positions.

As for international questions—about which we discussed less—we have a common position. As a matter of fact it was asserted not long ago in the document we adopted during the July Warsaw meeting of the socialist countries. I refer to the problems related to peace, disarmament and to the other well-known problems.

We think the meeting and the talks proved useful and necessary, and they yielded good results.

There still are some questions over which we must still ponder, discuss. However, the framework on which we agreed opens good and broad prospects for collaboration between our parties and peoples. We started from the responsibility each one of us has before our parties and peoples, from the need that the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, that live in neighbourhood for many, many hundreds of years, should develop collaboration and

friendship. There is no other way than that of cooperating so to ensure each people's progress, welfare and independence." [quotation mark as received]

We have started from the fact that various economic, social, cultural problems in a country should be fully solved by each party and government. On the way in which each party and government will know to solve the problems depend also the development of socialist construction and the confidence the respective party will enjoy from the respective people. The only judge that can assess whether the policy of one party is good or not is the people, the confidence of the people in the respective country. We consider that the time passed—and it must not come back again—of labels, of "the model" in socialist construction.

We must start from the fact that nobody can be a holder of truth of any problem, that how problems are solved—I say it again—is of concern to each leadership and party. And the only judge is the people in the respective country.

We think this is in the spirit of democracy, in the spirit of ensuring the people's participation in the management of society in all fields of activity.

I do not wish to refer to other problems.

I wish only to mention once again that, as for me and the comrades making up the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party, we think the meeting was good, the talks were good. Personally, I consider that I conducted good talks—bilateral too—with Comrade Karoly Grosz, that we reached good understandings for our parties and peoples, including the relations of collaboration between us in our capacity within our parties and countries.

We wish this understanding and the conclusions we reached to be an important moment in the future relations between our parties and peoples. I wish to state here that the Romanian Communist Party, its leadership will do everything depending on them along this line, serving the interests of the party and the people as well as those of the friendship and collaboration with the Hungarian Communists and people, the cause of socialism and peace in Europe and the world.

In conclusion I wish to address, in this framework too, best wishes of success in the work of building socialism to the Hungarian friends.

[Text] Comrade Karoly Grosz's statement:

Comrades, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends:

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party open heartedly received Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's invitation. We came with big hopes and we were not disappointed.

We had talks and negotiated in a good, useful atmosphere, having the opportunity and possibility to exchange our opinions on the bilateral relations. We were also able to inform the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party about the experience and concerns of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. At the same time we could see how socialist construction is accomplished in practice in Romania, learn the Romanian comrades' opinions on our bilateral relations.

We exchanged opinions on all questions of interest for the Hungarian public opinion, for the members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, questions which can influence our future collaboration.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu also stressed, the two countries and peoples have lived on this continent—for better, for worse—for several centuries. There were, of course, various points of view which, in their majority, have the roots in the past. Socialism has not yet succeeded in settling, in solving these problems. This means that we must jointly take action, this is our cause and for this we need a creative, open atmosphere. The sincerity with which we have discussed gave me the possibility to realize that there are many things we do not know about one another. Our information had gaps in many domains and we have different opinions on certain questions.

At the same time, the fact became obvious that in almost all questions we could exchange opinions with intentions of mutual help. And we are convinced that the questions under discussion can also be solved by joint efforts.

I would also like to stress that our talks bore the responsibility we have in front of our peoples for the assertion of our policy toward the socialist world and mankind's general interests.

At the same time I am of the same opinion as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu that our peoples should judge and qualify our policy.

We have jointly strived for seeking the possibilities of collaboration. First, we have agreed on the development of collaboration in production. We think that in this field we have already obtained good results. However, we cannot be satisfied with these results, because both of us are of the opinion that there still are huge resources in this field, in the domain of scientific research in particular, in cooperation in production, in the mixed enterprises, as well as in finding third markets outside our countries.

We commonly considered important that not only politicians but also the people should make diplomacy. That is why we encourage tourism. Our country's inhabitants want to make acquaintance with the life in the other country, with the natural reaches and beauties of their countries, to use the advantages deriving from friendly relations.

We see that our history, too, requires to discuss many problems. We agreed that the commission of history be encouraged. We also wish that the joint cultural commission stimulate cultural relations, and work for the development of collaboration in culture.

There also was a unanimous opinion on the fact that we should pay greater attention to cultivating our common traditions.

By concerted efforts we shall develop interchanges of journalists and, on this way just as by means of mass media, we should provide more as well as more real pieces of information about our peoples' life.

I am sure that our meeting was a fruitful contribution to the collaboration among peoples and the cause of detente.

I can state that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party considers a moral and principled duty to observe and fulfil all the previous and current understandings, and to organize, by political means, the deepening of relations among various bodies and organisms.

My personal conviction is that we, the leaders of our parties and states, of our institutions, should meet more systematically, so as we can have more knowledge not only of the problems as a whole but also of their details.

I avail myself of this opportunity to thank Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, before you too, for the attention, the open spirit and those experiences he put at our disposal, and I appreciate his solicitude to us.

On this occasion I should like to wish the Romanian people success in building socialism.

Thank you for your attention.

Next, Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Karoly Grosz answered the journalists' questions.

Would you tell us what role you think mass media, the press, play in promoting good neighbourliness, friendship and collaboration between our peoples?

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's answer:

Certainly, the mass media—the press, radio and television—have a very important role.

I think the first obligation of mass media, in general—and, of course, of the ones in the two countries, in particular—is to always tell the truth, reality without resorting to misinformation or a presentation of a state of affairs without thorough knowledge.

The press, radio and television must serve the consolidation of friendship and the growth of collaboration between our peoples, among all the peoples of the world. Only thus can they fulfill their highly important mission.

It is precisely to this end that we agreed that contacts and interchanges of delegations, mutual visits be organized between the journalists' unions in the two countries, for a better knowledge of realities in one country or another, to realistically present—in the press, on radio and television—such problems. The press and television must lay stress on what is in the interest of our peoples.

Question (MTI—Hungary)

Would you tell us whether the positions on the nationality question got closer one to another.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's answer:

During the talks we approached many problems. Certainly, it is understandable we also approached the question of Romanian citizens of Magyar or of other nationality.

We started from the fact that the problems of citizens of differing nationality, extraction in one country or another must be solved by the respective party and government, and only the development of socialist construction will ensure the general rise of the living standard of the respective people, hence of the citizens of certain national origin: Romanian or German in Hungary, Magyar or German in Romania. The collaboration between our parties and countries must contribute to the development of socialist construction and the general rise of the whole people's standard of living. This will reflect on everybody's welfare.

Question ("France Presse")

You, Mr General Secretary Karoly Grosz, spoke about the need for the exchange of opinions to be sincere, open so as to promote relations. My question is whether you see this cultivation of exchange of views only from one leadership to another, from one government to another.

Comrade Karoly Grosz's answer:

Of course, I fully agree that the exchange of opinions be open. I would like to tell you that I am here in double position: I am general secretary of the party and, at the same time, I also am prime minister. That is why I can assert that we wish our dialogue become deeper and more sincere, strengthen the collaboration both on a party line and on a governmental line.

Question (radio station in Hungary):

You have also discussed some humanitarian issues—what is your country's stand in that respect?

Comrade Karoly Grosz's answer:

We have also discussed this issue. We started from the fact that we must not encourage emigration and anybody to leave his country. But those who wish to emigrate must have the possibility to do it.

It is out of the question that, if their families or members of their families wish to do it they will have this possibility. But I want to mention that we should not encourage—and we commonly agreed that we should not encourage—emigration, that everybody should stay in his country, where he was born and where he should build socialism, ensure himself as good as possible living conditions.

Ceausescu Meets Arad County RCP Members

AU2808135888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 27 Aug 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Meets With the Members of the Bureau of the Arad County Committee of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/08/1988—On Saturday, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met with members of the Bureau of the Arad County Committee of the RCP.

Measures were examined and agreed upon to allow the County of Arad to fulfil its special tasks in the country's current development stage in the best conditions.

Showing the County of Arad to have scored a number of fine results, the party general secretary pointed out that those results were below the county's possibilities, below its powerful technical and human potential.

As for the organization and modernization of localities, President Nicolae Ceausescu insisted on the need to equip communes with every facility apt to boost comfort and civilization standards, so that village inhabitants may benefit from ever better working, living, learning, culture and health-care conditions.

The president also referred to a number of aspects of the activity carried through in agriculture.

In connection with party activity, Nicolae Ceausescu recommended that organizational, political-ideological and cultural-educational work should intensify with a view to developing the revolutionary socialist consciousness of the masses.

In conclusion, he expressed his belief that the strong party county organization, the Communists would commit themselves more firmly, in a revolutionary spirit, to the fulfilment of the socioeconomic development plans and programmes, of the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress and of the National Conference of the Party.

SCINTEIA Marks Afghanistan's Independence

AU1908102188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0826 GMT 19 Aug 88

["'SCINTEIA' Marks the Independence Day of the Republic of Afghanistan"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/8/1988—An editorial note in today's newspaper "SCINTEIA" shows that the Afghan people celebrates on August 19, 69 years since the proclamation of state independence. After the April 1978 revolution that ended the rule of the feudal lords Afghanistan entered a new phase of its existence marked by significant economic and social changes with a progressive character. The agrarian reform was carried through, cooperatives began to be set up, efforts were redoubled to use the natural resources for the benefit of the Afghan people, several industrial units started production.

Independence day is celebrated this year against the background of the implementation of the Geneva agreements of April 14, 1988 on the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. August 14 marked the end of the first phase of Soviet troops withdrawal. That, and the Kabul officials' efforts for national reconciliation are in the focus of international public opinion. As is known, Socialist Romania, that always stood in favour of the peaceful negotiated settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, welcomed the Geneva agreements. In the view of Romania, a just and durable solution in Afghanistan calls for action to end all outside intervention, firm respect for the independence and the rights of the Afghan people to solve its own problems, and to ensure its development as it wishes.

Cherishing friendly feelings to the Afghan people, the Romanian people follows with interest and sympathy its efforts for the building of a new life in line with its option for development on the socialist path, for the strengthening of national independence. Friendship and cooperation were established between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Afghanistan on the basis of the principles of respect for national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. The deepening of the Romanian-Afghan relations fully meets the interests of the two states and peoples, and of the cause of peace and understanding worldwide.

Ceausescu Receives Guinean Envoy's Credentials

AU1908201588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1918 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/08/1988—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on Friday, 19 August, Alkali Bangoura who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guinea to Romania.

The address presented by the ambassador highlights the importance of the official visit of friendship President Nicolae Ceausescu paid to the Republic of Guinea in March, which underscored the fine ties between the two countries and nations.

The address of response of Romania's president stresses that friendly and cooperative bonds have developed between the two countries and nations, set on full equality, mutual esteem and respect, recalling with satisfaction the visit he paid to the Republic of Guinea which ended with good understandings and decisions that open broad prospects to intensifying trade and economic cooperation in various areas of joint interest. Stress is laid on Romania's determination to further work for the Romanian-Guinean links, the cooperation between the two countries on an international plane to expand continuously, for the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

Over 500 Albanian Students Demonstrate

LD2908164588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Kumanovo, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Over 500 Albanian students gathered in front of the sociopolitical organizations building in Kumanovo today. The students gathered outside the building in which a meeting was to take place between their parents and representatives of sociopolitical organizations in this municipality concerning enrollment and the way instruction will be given in Kumanovo high schools.

The students refused to enroll in schools whose composition is not ethnically pure, which also was a reason for the meeting today.

Attempts by Albanian sociopolitical workers to speak to the assembled students have so far been unsuccessful. They were met with criticism and the demand "we are seeking justice."

Police Disperse Demonstrators

LD2908194288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Kumanovo, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Demonstrators who had been shouting slogans for a full 4 hours in front of a building where a meeting to discuss Albanian student enrollment was being held finally dispersed without incident. However, another group of 200 Albanians from Todemendo began demonstrating in the streets and in the center of town. They were prevented from doing this by police and the demonstrators then attacked police with stones. Nine police officers were injured. Police were then ordered to use force to prevent a greater disturbance of order and peace in the town. The most aggressive demonstrators were taken to the Internal Affairs Secretariat. Criminal charges will be filed against them.

While the meeting was taking place, vehicles were noticed in the town with registration plates from Pristina, Vranje, Bujanovac, and Presevo. It is thought that people from those places were among the demonstrators. An investigation is underway.

'Pure' Albanian Classes in Kumanovo Demanded

LD2908204088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 29 Aug 88

["'Pure' Albanian Classes in Kumanovo at Any Price"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Kumanovo, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—For the second time in a period of a few days several hundred pupils, their parents, and their teachers of Albanian nationality from the municipality of Kumanovo are resolutely demanding that "pure" classes with lessons taught in the Albanian language be formed in the secondary schools of the Macedonian commune.

The responsible municipal and republican educational organs do not reject this demand. However, in the Kumanovo municipality there is a lack of corresponding specialized teaching cadres and other conditions for such lessons to take place normally do not exist. At the moment, before the start of the new school year, there are over 320 places available for enrollment in mixed classes in all the secondary schools in Kumanovo municipality. However, members of the Albanian nationality do not wish to avail themselves of their right to enrollment but are conducting a boycott. With unseemly demonstrations, they are ignoring the republican law for specialized secondary education. Under the existing regulations where the conditions for conducting lesson in one language do not exist, it is not possible to form pure classes in this way.

The existing situation suits the ideas and methods of Albanian separatists as does the claim that pupils of Albanian nationality in the Kumanovo municipality have been deprived of their consitutional right to education in their mother tongue. Today, in a meeting in the building of the sociopolitical organizations of the Kumanovo municipality, this was denied in an argumentative fashion. The responsible people in the municipality and the republican education community informed the pupils, parents, and teachers that no one in these schools was against lessons being held in the Albanian language and that this was being applied in practice. However, the shortage of teachers who can teach exclusively in Albanian is the main reason that "pure" Albanian classes cannot be formed in such a way. It was also stressed that there is an insufficient number of pupils of Albanian nationality for a separate school or so called "pure classes" to be formed. [passage omitted]

Today's meeting had two parts: one, which was "peace-loving", was held in the hall, where a parents and representatives of local communities in Kumanovo and the municipality met, and another part was held outside in front of the building, where several hundred members of the Albanian nationality demonstrated without incident, demanding "pure classes" in the Albanian language. Among the participants in this protest, most numerous were young people and children, as well as students, who have been studying for years at universities of Skopje and Pristina, not finishing their education in the set period. The protest took place without incident, thanks to the tolerant attitude of the security organs, sociopolitical organizations, and the citizens of Kumanovo.

One gained the impression that this whole protest gathering was well organized and that there were "leaders" from the ranks of Albanian separatists who chose this moment, 2 days before the start of the new school year, to exert pressure on the responsible organs in the municipality, although this multinational Macedonian commune has created and is creating the conditions for the regular education of all nations and nationalities within the limits of its material abilities.

Serbs, Montenegrins Protest in Pristina

LD2908220588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1851 GMT 28 Aug 88

[Text] Pristina, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Over 200 citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from Pristina and surrounding localities protested this evening in front of Katarina Trajkovic's house in Djura Jaksic Street. The night before last, two as yet unidentified persons attacked this old woman, a participant in the National Liberation Army.

Opening this protest meeting the respected Pristina lawyer Vukoje Jokovic stressed that this was an attack not just on a widow and an old woman with no family, but also on the freedom of the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo.

We call on the Kosovo leadership, he said, to consistently implement the conclusions of the 9th and 16th sessions of the LCY Central Committee and to protect us and enable us to live freely. At the same time he assessed as senseless and as slander claims that Serbia in the forthcoming constitutional amendments is advocating the abolition of the provinces and a curtailing of the rights of other nations and nationalities in them.

President of the Pristina Municipal Assembly Dr Bozidar Lazic assessed the attack on Katarina Trajkovic as a planned, hostile act directed against all Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins. He informed those present that the security organs were working on finding the arrogant attackers, but that they still had not been found.

Others present, including Katarina Trajkovic's son, expressed disgust at this attack and repeated calls for the freedom and protection of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Some leaders from Vojvodina were mentioned, and it was said that they were holding up the legal constitution of Serbia. Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Rahman Morina were also mentioned in a negative context.

After a 1-hour meeting it was agreed that tomorrow at the same time a larger gathering should be organized. President of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Kacusa Jasari was also invited to attend the scheduled protest meeting.

Albania Conducts 'Dual-Track Policy'

LD2608174088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, August 26 (TANJUG)—It would be good if Albania's activities were in keeping with its declared wishes. Unfortunately, a speech by Albania's head of state Ramiz Alia in the border town of Peshkopi last week and a text carried by the daily ZERI I POPULLIT on August 11th once again confirm that the long-lasting political campaign of the Albanian leadership against Yugoslavia is still conducted on two parallel tracks.

The wish for "good-neighborly relations" and "favorable atmosphere in the Balkans" following the ministerial conference of the Balkan countries in Belgrade were again followed by Tirana's new accusations against Yugoslavia for its alleged anti-Albanian policy in Kosovo. In its accusations, Tirana does not shirk from falsifying facts, imputing untruths and brutally interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

Yugoslavia never questioned Albania's right to interest itself in the status of the Albanian nationality on Kosovo within the framework of international law and practice and without, of course, attempting to influence the system of a sovereign state. By disregarding the truth about the status of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia which enjoys equal rights with other Yugoslav nations and nationalities, Albania is crossing the demarkation line beyond which the policy of good-neighborly relations ends.

In its latest propaganda campaign against Yugoslavia, Tirana accuses the latest League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee plenum of "taking new steps against Albanians, against their national and democratic rights", and claims that the "few rights the Albanians won by fighting and working and which they are granted under the present Yugoslav Constitution" are under attack. Tirana further claims that the aim is to "remove as many Albanians as possible from leadership posts".

In Yugoslavia, where the Albanians have schools, publishing and information activities in their own language, where they are widely represented in all bodies and organs up to the Federal Assembly, where scores of ambassadors and ministers and recently a head of state were of Albanian nationality, there are no pressures for fewer rights of any of the nations and nationalities, but for more democracy and rights of all nations and nationalities.

The question arises why Albania, which is so "concerned" for the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, is not in the least prepared, even verbally, to grant any of the rights the Albanian minority enjoys in Yugoslavia, not even the right to identity, to the minorities of Yugoslav origin on its territory.

National minorities are not created by decrees and for this reason cannot be abolished by decrees, as Albania has done remaining blind to reality and scientifically verified facts.

In its latest variation on the theme, Albania has renewed the thesis that Yugoslavia enables the presence of foreign forces in the Balkans. Serbian leaders are accused of attempting to limit the autonomy of Albanians in Kosovo. According to Tirana, they "seek the support of foreign forces, particularly the Soviet Union". Albania thus acts as if [it] does not know that Yugoslavia achieved its status, complete independence and the good reputation it enjoys in the world precisely by not holding on the apron strings of the big powers, by not allowing them to influence its policy. That is what happened in 1948, when Yugoslavia resisted Stalin's pressures and the cominform resolution, the same one which the Albanian press, probably the only one in the world, still glorifies and praises.

Ignoring this historical truth may by an opportunity for us to recall that it was Albania which turned towards a superpower after 1948, and later a big country, thus enabling their presence in the Balkans.

We would like to believe that these times are behind us forever. This is because, the fact that only Yugoslavia and Albania do not belong to any military-political group in the Balkans is of strategic importance. Furthermore, as a factor of security, it provides a sufficient foundation upon which good-neighborly relations can be built. Hence, when Yugoslavia today says that it supports Albania's independence and its non-bloc orientation, it is supporting not only its neighbor's highest national interest, but also the broader interest of all Balkan countries.

Good-neighbourly relations do not depend on neighbours agreeing on everything, but rather on their mutual understanding and respect. Unfortunately, however, the dual-track policy does not lend itself to such relations.

It is up to Albania, therefore, not to say but to demonstrate whether it aspires towards this goal.

'International Excesses' in Pristina Condemned

LD2908223988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Pristina, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Pristina SAWP Municipal Conference today stated that the political situation in this municipality continues to be very serious and complex. Several intranational excesses, which have become more frequent, that occurred over the last few days, received the harshest condemnation. The latest example noted was the arrogant attack the day before yesterday by two as yet unidentifited persons on 61 year old Katarina Trajkoic, who lives in the center of Pristina. The responsible organs were called upon to find the perpetrators of these attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins as soon as possible and to take legal measures against them. The Presidium appealed to social subjects in this municipality to act to prevent such excesses.

The Presidium went on in its session to discuss preparations for the start of the school year and stated that this would not take place without problems. It was noted that because of the material difficulties in education there were already announcements of work stoppages in two primary schools in Kosovo Polje and there were indications that there would be a boycott of lessons conducted in a language other than the mother tongue in certain regions. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the recent attempt to set fire to a young girl of Romany nationality on the corso in Pristina could have a negative effect on the attendance of regular lessons by pupils of the Romany nationality. It was also stated that three teachers were removed from their posts because of insufficient support and unsuitability and that proceedings were underway to establish the responsibility of two directors of the Veljko Vlahovic educational center in Pristina and the Skendija center in the locality of Ajvalija. [sentence as received]

Zubin Potok Basic LC's Discuss Grievances

LD2908224088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Zubin Potok, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The basic LC organization of the work unit of the Gazivoda hydroelectric power station and the committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection of the Ibar-Lepenac hydrosystem from Pristina should as soon as possible supply full details of events surrounding the moving of Albanian Ismail Zaseljaj into the socially owned flat at the pumping station in Zupce. This was the occasion of a protest gathering of inhabitants of Zupce village who are all Serbs, and at the initiative of the sociopolitical structures of the Zubin Potok municipality Zaseljaj was moved out. Since Zaseljaj was moved into the flat on the instructions of hydrosystem director Baskim Kabasi, and bearing in mind that Kabasi is an emigrant from Albania as well as being a lecturer at the Pristina Agriculture Faculty, it is essential that the Communists in his work organization make clear their views on the behavior of their colleague who by his action contributed to the worsening of the political and security situation in Zubin Potok. This was stated at a conference today of secretaries of basic LC organizations of Zubin Potok, which had on its agenda the realization of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo and an assessment of the political and security situation in their municipality.

At a meeting Pristina television was critized for not undertaking the necessary measures, despite numerous requests and promises, to improve the television picture. It was also criticized for frequently, as it was stated, switching off programs in Serbo-Croatian. In the past week Serbo-Croatian programs were switched off five times. Also, for inexplicable reasons, the Novi Sad "Panorama" program was switched off. At today's conference the secretaries of basic LC organizations decided that such actions made the political security situation more difficult, and they called for an explanation from Pristina television.

Slovenes Discuss Kosovo Meeting Proposal
AU2708161988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 88

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] Ljubljana DNEVNIK and Radio Student published today brief reports saying that they are preparing a group of journalists and other interested people, primarily sociologists, lawyers, and economists to go to Kosovo to investigate the situation on the spot and to inform the Slovene public about it. The Ljubljana newspaper also carried an article on the suggestion that a meeting of solidarity with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins be held in Ljubljana. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

Under the headline, Information Trip and Not a March in Kosovo, Ljubljana DNEVNIK quotes a statement by the LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Presidency of Kosovo that the situation in the province is very sensitive and contains potential dangers that could have tragic consequences. Since the interest of the public in the life of Kosovo citizens is in the forefront now, Ljubljana DNEVNIK adds: Whether we want it or not, these are our problems and our fate.

Therefore, the editors of DNEVNIK and of Radio Student intend to inform their readers and listeners objectively about the events in Kosovo. The date of the departure of Ljubljana journalists, sociologists, lawyers, economists, and other interested people will be announced later.

In an article devoted to the suggestion that Serbs and Montenegrins should come to a solidarity meeting in Ljubljana, Mitja Zagar expresses the view that their Organizational Committee, just as the Ljubljana Human Rights Protection Committee, has been formed outside the set forms of sociopolitical organizations and political system with the desire to inform the public about certain problems and to mobilize people to resolve these problems in a new way.

A certain similarity exists between these two committees, although there are also many differences. Zagar draws the conclusion that, I quote, we must get used to new alternative forms of organization and activities of people. Proceeding from the premise that the solidarity meeting will be held in Ljubljana, Zagar expresses the opinion that it would be necessary that not only Serbs and Montenegrins, but also members of other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, should come to the Slovene capital, so that problems could be seen from sides.

The author of the article recommends that in addition to a meeting, roundtable discussions be organized on various problems on which experts should present their opinions. Zagar recommends that youth labor actions should be organized in Kosovo in the form of professional and investigation camps like the camps that are usual in Slovenia. In this way, young people from all of Yugoslavia could prepare projects for the solving of specific Kosovo problems.

One also notices Zagar's suggestion, as presented in Ljubljana DNEVNIK today, that if a solidarity meeting should be held in Ljubljana, representatives of the Organization Committee of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and the Ljubljana Human Rights Protection Committee should meet so that they may exchange opinions and act jointly in solving Yugoslav social problems, among which the problems in Kosovo occupy a special place.

It should be stated in conclusion that the Serb and Montenegrin suggestion to come to Ljubljana will probably be discussed by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia between 10 and 12 September.

Slovene Daily Comments on Kosovo Visit
AU2608182088 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 24 Aug 88 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Vlado Slamberger: "Slovenes in Kosovo?"]

[Text] The first (semiofficial) response to the suggestion by the Serbs and Montenegrins from the Socialist Autonomous Republic of Kosovo to hold a solidarity meeting in Ljubljana has come quickly from the SAWP Republican Conference. There has been no specific decision for the time being. Therefore it makes sense to propose to the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference to consider the possibility of deciding in favor of the second option, a visit by Slovenes in Kosovo. Quite certainly one can find 15 people in each Slovene commune and other sociopolitical communities who would like to visit Kosovo homesteads. Of course there could be no LC members among them, in case the visit turned into a gathering, because such meetings, which follow each other as if on an assembly line, do not agree with the recommendations and positions of the LCY Central Committee (unfortunately we have got so far that even the members of the vanguard organization no longer respect the positions of their leadership) and do not contribute to a better position of non-Albanians in Kosovo.

According to the first proposal, in addition to the brotherhood and unity train which has been linking Slovenes and Serbs (from Serbia without the provinces) in memory of the bad times during the war, a special train from the Kosovo Polje railroad station should bring to Ljubljana 1,000 desperate Serbs and Montenegrins (there would be no Turks, Muslims, Romanies, Slovenes, Croats, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Austrians, Italians, Ruthenians, Jews, Poles, Russians, Vlachs, Ukrainians, and others who also live in Kosovo but are

not all autochthonous). These feel particularly endangered, have no security of property, and in general are in great trouble because the majority nationality (the Albanians) is not sufficiently aware of their obligation of privilege, so that all the people of Kosovo may feel equal and secure.

The Slovenes in general do not travel enough in Yugoslavia, and therefore it would be a precious experience to see Kosovo and to get more closely acquainted with the people there (including the Albanians). In this way we would better understand the complex situation in Kosovo where oldfashioned ways of life—with all their dire consequences—still prevail. In such new perceptions we could find a positive core of the Kosovo suggestion.

Workers Strike for Surplus Funds in Krusevac

LD3008012488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2141 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Krusevac, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—At 1200 hours [1000 GMT] workers at the Dusan Petronijevic cardboard and packing materials factory in Krusevac went on strike. The reason is the demand being made by workers that surplus funds, totaling 27 billion dinars and refunded by the self-managing community of interest for health and social protection, be distributed among employees of this factory. The workers' council, which had an urgent meeting in connection with this, as well as the management organs, take the view that these funds should not be distributed. The Dusan Petronijevic factory with average personal incomes of 400,000 dinars per employee and constant bonuses of at least 40 percent on top of the same, is one of the better-off organizations of associated labor, both in Krusevac and throughout the region.

The strike continues.

Velika Kladusa Miners Return to Work

LD3008093288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0701 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Velika Kladusa, 30 Aug (TANJUG)—About 100 miners at the Bosna Barit mine in Velika Kladusa, which operates as part of the Grupeks work organization, returned to work today after a 4-day work stoppage. Their demands were partly met: The miners will be paid the 20 percent of their personal incomes which were deducted in July because of the application of intervention measures. This percentage will be paid to them when the mine is operating at a profit. Until that time they will recieve a single assistance payment from the trade union of 50,000 dinars each. The miners gave up their demand that the mine should be organized as a basic organization of associated labor instead of a unit of associated labour, as it is now. They claimed a new method of organization would increase the number of administrative workers.

Korosec Speaks to Split Shipbuilders

AU2608181588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] How to get out of the crisis? Only daring and creative cadres can seek new paths and provide a way out of the crisis. One should not be afraid of conflicts, but one should solve them and precisely because of this, we must have more confidence in destructive creative people, that is in those who destroy everything that is bad and construct something new. This was said by Stefan Korosec, LCY Central Committee Presidium secretary, during talks with representatives of the Split shipbuilding industry [on 26 August].

[Begin Korosec recording] We can only encourage the essential success of our reform and the results of the reform through the associated labor organizations. However, if in our reform we strive for a change in the system and we strive for a total reform of the philosophy of development strategy, then what is essential for us is what will be implemented and in which way and how it will be realized in associated labor organizations.

However, what is important for business operations governed by the market is this, how may I put it, entrepreneurial function and what we call, entrepreneurship under the conditions of social ownership and socialist self-management, that is socialist entrepreneurship. However, what is necessary for the development of this function is that we somehow clearly develop, what I may call, the optimum self-managing process of decisionmaking, but it must be recognized that this is not the twilight of self-management and that we are (?promoting) the management function.

Precisely because of this, we set down in the stances of the LCY Conference how specifically we should somehow emerge from, how may I put it, this economic and social crisis. However, as time passes, these stances and this platform, in the sense of action mobilization, are somehow increasingly pushed into the shadows. Even we do not speak about it in public and in our talks and you do not write about it. However, there was a clear orientation at the conference that a way out of the crisis is only possible through a thorough social reform which means economic reform, a reform of the political system, and even a transformation of the LC itself. [end recording]

Alliance May Call Leaders 'To Account'

LD2908222788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Dubrovnik, August 29 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia Bozidar Colakovic on Monday announced a possibility of the organization performing its constitutional role and calling to account the leaders who have failed to carry out their jobs and tasks as agreed to, in a period of the country's gravest postwar social and economic crisis.

At the alliance's federal conference session set for September 14, the federal government will be asked to answer many questions "outstanding for some time now," said Colakovic addressing a meeting in Dubrovnik.

If the League of Communists of Yugoslavia points out that it does not want to be a party in power, it should act within this largest Yugoslav socio-political organization, he said.

Colakovic urged a precise estimate of the leaders' professional standards and effect of work, posed a question of personal and collective responsibility, and pointed out that it was also honourable to withdraw.

Draft Amendments to SFRY Constitution

Part Four

AU2808202588 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 88 p 5

[Fourth of five installments of report by Vlado Rajic on Draft Amendments to the SFRY Constitution: "The Powers of the Federation To Check the Republics"; second installment published in 26 August DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Finally, the Federation. Although relations in the Federation, as an element of the political system, had their own particular group of amendments and their own particular range of questions for which new solutions should have been proposed, the key question is how the development of Yugoslav federalism can be continued by strengthening its units and strengthening the federal state, as the means for eliminating confederalist behavior.

Amendment 23—The public powers which belong to the communes are defined by the law. The federal law, with the agreement of the republican assemblies, determines the joint bases for the levels of education and the conditions for acquiring specialist training. The right of the peoples and nationalities to receive instruction in their native language is confirmed. Man has the right to a healthy environment. Republican laws may not contravene federal regulations, but if they do, then the federal law applies until the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia gives a ruling. Self-managing general acts may not contravene the law. The federal law establishes the principles on the formation and composition of regular courts and on the election to and the termination of a judge's office. Another thing said about courts is the way in which judges are selected and the authority of the higher public prosecutor over the lower one is established.

Amendment 24—An agreement between the republics may establish the joint foundations for regulating relationships in certain fields and it is the duty of the federation to stimulate this agreement process. Once concluded, an agreement binds the signatories.

Amendment 25—Acts of the state organs are valid for all the territory of the SFRY. Those acts and operations which destroy the principle of the equality of associated labor organizations and working people are considered unconstitutional if this inequality is based on the location of the associated labor organization's center or on the residence of persons.

Amendment 26—The unified Yugoslav market is basically defined as the unified foundations of the taxation system and the joint foundations of taxation policy, the joint policy of economic and social development, and the unified strategy of scientific and technological development. In this sense, the republics coordinate decisions in these fields (and within their jurisdiction) through joint agreements. The social revenue services, as social services, collect the obligatory payment of taxes and dues and contributions from those liable to pay as established by the law, and carry out other tasks in this area. The position and the foundations of their functioning are determined by the federal law.

Amendment 27—The SFRY social plan respects market laws and the independence of economic subjects on the unified Yugoslav market and accepts international economic relations and the foreign obligations of the country. On this basis, it establishes joint developmental and economic policy and directs economic and social development. The plan includes economic and other measures from the independent powers of the Federation, with the aim of more harmonized and stable development and of coordinating the interests of associated labor and the joint interests of the republics.

Amendment 28—The foundations of the unified Yugoslav market are also supplemented with a uniform currency, the monetary, credit, and foreign exchange system, the joint monetary and foreign exchange policy and the joint foundations of the credit policy. In this sense, the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBY] and corresponding banks in the republics and provinces implement a joint monetary and foreign exchange policy and the joint foundations of the credit policy as determined in the SFRY Assembly. The money issuing bank, the NBY, regulates the amount of money in circulation, and also proposes regulations and other acts to the SFRY Assembly and it is also responsible for implementing the policy and laws in this field. The NBY is the second authorized body to propose laws in these fields to the SFRY Assembly and gives the SFRY Assembly its opinions on the proposals. In line with their powers, all national banks are responsible for the stability of the currency and the general liquidity of payments at home and abroad. The NBY holds federal funds on deposit, and it conducts credit business for the Yugoslav People's Army

and national defense. The NBY's work for the Federation and the Yugoslav People's Army is conducted separately from its work connected with the implementation of the joint monetary and foreign exchange policy. The NBY is not a commercial bank, and neither are the national banks of the republics and provinces. The business of proposing regulations under the powers of the NBY is managed by the Board of Governors through their adopting decisions and measures for the implementation of these decisions. The Board and Governor of the NBY shall be responsible to the SFRY Assembly. The governor shall have the right to stay the execution of decisions and general acts by the Board of Governors and shall report any such action to the SFRY Assembly. The national banks of the republics are obliged to respect the decisions and measures by the Board of Governors in implementing the policy in the abovementioned spheres.

The role of the Federation in this field is to regulate, through federal organs, the monetary and foreign exchange system, and the legal tenders, to determine and to ensure the implementation of a joint monetary and foreign exchange policy, and to determine the level of foreign exchange and monetary reserves. The Federation also regulates the credit and banking system, and the forms of investment by domestic persons abroad and of foreigners in Yugoslavia, and it adopts regulations for the implementation of the laws in these fields.

It is the responsibility of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces to determine policy in these fields in agreement with the assemblies and to adopt laws. Political control in this field also implies the right to cancel (and annul) the regulations which the NBY adopts.

Amendment 29—In foreign policy, the republics are obliged to respect the framework of the foreign policy of the SFRY and international agreements. The provinces are also bound by the same limitation. In putting this into practice, the republics are obliged to cooperate with federal organs.

Amendment 30—Cooperation between federal and republican organs according to a procedure determined by the federal law, ensures the implementation of federal laws. Through their rights and duties, the federal organs are obliged to instruct the republic administrative organs in the implementation of federal laws and regulations. It is the obligation of the federal organ to warn the republican organ about the non-implementation of a federal law and to inform the FEC of this, and the federal government informs the republican-provincial governments. If the law is not implemented, even after the warnings, then the FEC is obliged to take steps to ensure that the law is applied and to inform the SFRY Assembly of this. It may suggest that the SFRY Assembly informs the republican assembly of the measures taken. These include initiating the apportioning of blame among those organs and officials whose powers included the implementation of the federal law. If the federal law is not applied even after this, then the FEC may suggest to the SFRY Assembly that the republican assembly be asked to take steps and to establish responsibility. Finally, if this action does not ensure that the federal law is implemented, then the authority shall be bestowed on a federal organ to ensure that the law is applied. The federal administrative organ is then obliged to do this. In overseeing the implementation of federal laws, the federal administrative organs act directly.

Amendment 31—To finance the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], federal laws may also establish taxes from the incomes of the associated labor organizations and from personal incomes, as well as a special turnover tax. The YPA's expenditure shall be fixed as a percentage of the national income of Yugoslavia for the period for which the medium-term development plan of the SFRY is adopted. The plan for the development of the YPA shall be in line with the social plan of Yugoslavia. Money for financing the YPA shall be provided in the Yugoslav budget. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces shall determine the volume of the expenditure of the Yugoslav budget for every year and for the financing of the YPA for the period of the medium-term plan. If this chamber does not make a budgetary decision in the specified time, then the Federation is financed on the basis of the previous year and the YPA is financed according to a portion of the entire volume of funds fixed for the medium-term.

Amendment 32—The authority of the Federation includes regulating the foundations of the system of state administration and of the system of public information and includes the association of working people into social organizations and associations of citizens.

The Federation is responsible for the foundations of the social planning system; it determines the social plan of Yugoslavia and a unified strategy of scientific and technological development, the foundations of the taxation system (sources and kinds of taxes, those liable to tax, and tax bases) that are important for the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market. Furthermore, the Federation determines the foundations of the system of commodity reserves, conditions for the establishment of and the work of customs zones and customs-free zones, the functioning of the social accounting service, and relations in the cooperative movement and it regulates and ensures the management and usage of social resources for the needs of the YPA. Among other things, the federal organs are also responsible for adopting the criminal law.

Part Five

AU2808202788 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 88 p 5

[Last of five installments of report by Vlado Rajic on Draft Amendments to the SFRY Constitution: "A Court Arbitrates Even in the Case of Disputes Between Courts"]

[Text] Are the so-called federal amendments, that is, changes in the relations in the Federation, a step back as it is frequently assessed, or is this a matter of superficial

political reading of the amendments? The last five amendments provide an opportunity for checking whether such an assessment is right or wrong.

Amendment 33—The Federal Chamber is made up of delegates from self-managing organizations and communities, as well as from sociopolitical organizations. There are 30 delegates from each republic and 20 from each Province and there is an obligation that at least half of them must come from associated labor. A delegate electoral unit may comprise one or several communes. The definition of an electoral unit, the election, and the recall of delegates are determined by federal law, and the nomination procedure is conducted by the SAWP. Candidates are proposed by working people and citizens and they are adopted by the nomination conference of delegations. Elections are direct, general, and secret.

The assemblies of the republics and provinces are represented in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces through their delegations, at least half of whose members shall be from the chambers of associated labor. Among other things, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces has the power to establish the policy and adopt laws on monetary system and money issue, matters pertaining to foreign exchange and foreign trade, and credits to underdeveloped regions. It is also within the power of this chamber to establish the conditions and ways of obligatory association of associated labor organizations of post, telegraph, and telephones, the railroads, and the electricity generation industry.

Both the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces have equal powers in adopting the social plan of Yugoslavia, the unified strategy of scientific and technological development, the budget, and the closing accounts of the Federation, as well as in determining the measures for the unified Yugoslav market and controlling prices in it. One should also mention here measures restricting the market and the free trade in goods and services, as well as subsidy measures. A law is adopted if both chambers endorse its text in the same form. The Federal Chamber adopts decisions by a majority vote, and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces does so by the agreement of all the assemblies. A difference in the texts of a law adopted by the chambers opens the procedure of coordination, and if that fails, the law is implemented in the form adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. An exemption to this are regulations pertaining to the budget and the closing accounts of the Federation, as well as to measures preventing violations of the unified Yugoslav market, which are implemented in the form adopted by the Federal Chamber. Both chambers are obliged to examine the proposals of the trade unions in the case of measures pertaining to the financial and social position of workers. This amendment also envisages a 4-year term of office for the president and vice president of the Assembly and the presidents of the chambers.

Amendment 34—As has been the case heretofore, the republics and provinces are each represented in the SFRY Presidency by one member who is elected at the proposal of the republics and provinces after the opinion has been sounded in the SAWPY. Those who elect members of the Presidency are also those who recall them. Concluding proposals prescribing the powers of the state Presidency concern its power in the case of war when the Presidency may suspend individual provisions of the Constitution relating to legislative powers, which normally require the agreement of the republican and provincial organs.

Amendment 35—After a discussion, the conclusion has been reached that this proposed amendment be deleted (extraordinary powers of the federal government in adopting laws and regulations for which the agreement of the republican assemblies is required). At the same time this means that the provisions of Articles 355 to 357 of the Constitution are deleted.

Amendment 36—The powers of the Federal Court are defined so as to include the powers of a juridical institution which decides as the final instance in court cases or in cases of requests for special legal remedies. This is done in cases when, through an unconstitutional or illegal act or deed, associated labor organizations and working people are put into an unequal position in the unified Yugoslav market, and includes the litigation about damages arising from such acts. The Court also deals with property disputes of the federation and the republics, decides on the legitimacy of definitive administrative acts by federal organs, and decides on extraordinary legal remedies against decisions by regular and self-management courts in cases set by federal law. The powers of the Federal Court also include last-minute decisions on decisions of courts in cases of economic litigation when the litigants are from different republics.

The Federal Court is the court that assesses the violations of freedoms and rights of man under the SFRY Constitution and that decides on court sentences imposing a death sentence. The Federal Court also decides in cases of conflicts of powers between courts from various republics, or between a civilian and a military court.

This amendment is supplemented by a provision about the powers of the federal public prosecutor who may issue binding instructions to republican and provincial prosecutors, and may conduct criminal prosecution in cases in which the Federation determines the power of republican prosecutors. In economic disputes, the federal prosecutor may also take over prosecution from republican prosecutors in cases that are regulated by federal law. The assumption of the role of the prosecutor enables the federal prosecutor to appear as a party with all the powers in the court where the litigation is proceeding.

Amendment 37—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia rules on the conformity of laws with the Constitution, on the legality of republican as against federal laws, the conformity of regulations and other acts with the Constitution and the federal law, the conformity of the sociopolitical community regulations with the Constitution and the federal law, and the conformity of interrepublican, provincial, and communal agreements with the Constitution and the federal law.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia decides on the conflicts of powers between the courts and other organs. Its ruling invalidates a law, regulation, or other act or any part of it that has been found lacking in the necessary conformity with the Constitution or another "superior" legal act. It is an innovation that proceedings before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia may be initiated by the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia.

The powers of the republican and provincial constitutional courts extend to the level of the republican and provincial constitutions and laws. These courts are obliged to submit their rulings on conformity or nonconformity to the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia for an assessment of whether the regulation or decision whose constitutionality has been examined conforms to the provisions of the federal Constitution.

The president of the Constitutional Court is also elected for 4 years from among the judges of this court.

The amendments conclude with a proposal to supplement Article 404 of the SFRY Constitution (definition of the term "law" that is used in the text of the Constitution). The fate of this amendment may be indicated by the fact that questions to the effect, Why this proposal, were heard during the work of the Constitutional Commission of the SFRY Assembly. This is understandable, for the definition classifies provincial laws as laws only conditionally, when in conformity with Article 4 of the Constitution (this article defines the term of province).

Of course, the discussion of this and some other proposed provisions will drag on. It would be a pity if that happened only in the interest of current politics and not because of the requests voiced by experts while the Constitution is being framed. The amendments in general, and especially the portion devoted to the relations in the Federation, show how strong and "pushing" the pragmatic aims are as against the development concept that bases its "unpopularity" on the request that a market of abilities be set up.

Komatina Interviewed on SS-20 Destruction

LD2908221988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2015 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Volgograd, August 29 (TANJUG)—Secretary-General of the International Disarmament Confernce, Miljan Komatina of Yugoslavia, told TANJUG's Moscow correspondent today that the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on scrapping two categories of nuclear missiles will speed up disarmament.

In his capacity as special envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Komatina on Sunday attended the first public scrapping of Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles at a testing range some 190 km southeast of Volgograd.

Komatina described yesterday's event as important, as it marked the beginning of the "implementation in practice of a disarmament treaty which is of enormous importance to the future of mankind'. He expressed pleasure that the application of the treaty is under strict supervision of the two countries—signatories of the treaty which, he said, consolidates their mutual trust.

Loncar Messages Greek Counterpart on Lake Issue

LD2908161788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today sent a message to Karolos Papoulias foreign affairs minister of Greece, because, following several successive requests by Yugoslavia to stop draining water from Dojran Lake, the Greek side has done nothing.

The message says that it is difficult to understand the actions of Greece which, despite all warnings that Dojran Lake is threatened by an ecological catastrophe of great proportions, has not stopped withdrawing water. Yugoslavia is fully aware of the misfortune which this year's drought has brought to neighboring Greece, just as it has also affected us. Precisely because of this, and in order to (?alleviate) the situation somewhat, as a gesture of good will and assistance, we agreed that Greece could use 5 million cubic metres of water from Lake Dojran.

As is known, however, experts from the two countries at the end of last week established that the lake's water level was about half a meter below the lowest permissable level and that the Greek side had withdrawn, via the Dojran Lake drainage canal a far greater quantity of water than that which was agreed upon. This has caused damage to the Yugoslav economy, as well as serious consequences to the natural balance of Dojran Lake which is already endangered by several months of drought.

At the end of the message Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar stresses that, in the interests of continuing good-neighborly relations and in order to prevent further damage of unforeseeable proportions, we expect this problem to be resolved at today's meeting of experts from Yugoslavia and Greece with the halting of further draining of water from Dojran Lake.

Greeks Stop Drawing Water

LD2908162288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Skopje, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Today the withdrawal of water from the Greek side of Dojran Lake was halted. This has been confirmed by Yugoslav experts

who, together with their Greek colleagues, today visited several locations on the shores of Dojran Lake and acquainted themselves with the serious consequences of the Greek side's overutilization of water from this lake. The meeting of experts came about at the request of Yugoslavia which on several occasions had pointed out the serious consequences of releasing too much water from the lake.

Vasil Vlaski, vice president of the Macedonian Executive Council, today stressed to journalists that the level of Dojran Lake had dropped to 59 cm below normal. A dam has been destroyed on the lake without Yugoslav agreement, and the drainage canal has been deepened by 60 cm. The SFRY, however, because of the catastrophic drought, gave permission for only about 5 million cubic meters of water to be withdrawn for irrigation, which would correspond approximately to a 10-cm drop in the level of the lake.

Presidency Discusses Upcoming Nonaligned Meeting
LD2608220988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—At its session chaired by President Raif Dizdarevic the SFRY Presidency today discussed priorities for directions of action and approved stands for the activity of the SFRY delegation at the nonaligned foreign ministers conference which will be held in Cyprus 5-10 September this year.

The introductory report was read by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs. Proceeding from the fact that fast and major changes are occurring in the world toward a relaxation of tension, especially in relations between the great powers, the Presidency said opportunities are being created for greater stability in the world, having an impact in virtually all areas of international relations. In these conditions the premises are being created for adaptation to the situation that has been created and, on this basis, for even more dynamic activity by the Nonaligned Movement. This is why the SFRY delegation will strive to help the conference in Cyprus contribute to making the movement take a more active stance on the solution of the most topical international problems, primarily the question of disarmament, the struggle for peace and security, more rapid elimination of the focal points of crisis and armed conflicts between the nonaligned countries, democratization of international relations, and especially for ensuring the economic development and social stability of the nonaligned and developing countries. In so doing the Nonaligned Movement will make a contribution to the consolidation of the incipient positive processes in whose launching the movement has a conspicuous role to play. At the same time this will ensure the consolidation of the status and role of the movement as an independent and global factor in international relations overall.

The SFRY Presidency has stressed the need for the Yugoslav delegation to strive for the continual updating of the substance, method, and manner of work of the Nonaligned Movement and the development of cooperation with all important factors of international relations. The SFRY Presidency also discussed other issues pertaining to its constitutional jurisdiction.